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U.S. Condemned at UN for Shooting Planes

Polish Delegate Comments

LD1101140189 Warsaw PAP in English 1223 GMT 11 Jan 89

[By PAP Correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Jan. 11—Poland Tuesday joined the voices expressing international concern that shooting down of Libyan fighters by U.S. planes may harm peace and security, and supported the proposal to turn the Mediterranean into a tension free zone.

Chief of the Polish permanent representation at the United Nations, Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta told the Security Council that Poland had many times spoken against the use and threat of use of force in international relations. It is particularly important today in the face of positive changes in the world, he said.

Referring to the course of the Security Council debate and to the widespread concern that the incident may cause serious conseqences, Noworyta said that this particular approach testifies to the new spirit of joint responsibility for the international security. It also testifies to the necessity of taking practical steps to consolidate security in the Mediterranean region.

Poland supports the proposal of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation, Noworyta declared.

Our country has noted with great interest the statement of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi on the U.S.-Libyan dialogue in order to solve the contention between both states, he added.

Noworyta appealed for moderation, prevention of further escalation of tension, and settling the dispute with political means.

Statement Made by CSSR

LD1101222689 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] New York Jan 11 (CTK correspondent)—The tragic incident of the shooting down of two Libyan airplanes by the U.S. air force is in direct contradiction with positive tendencies in the development of international relations, head of the Czechoslovak permanent mission in the U.N. Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky stressed here Wednesday at a U.N. Security Council session.

He pointed out that the use of force in this incident cannot be justified with the right to self-defence. The Czechoslovak representative was one of the ten speakers who condemned the U.S. action in the Mediterranean of January 4.

The international community expects especially from the U.N. Security Council permanent members to give to other states the example of respect for international law, and hopes that the U.S. will draw conclusions from the incident, Evzen Zapotocky said.

Bulgaria's Strezov Speaks

AU1201125389 Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 12 Jan 89

["Bulgarian Position at the Security Council"—BTA headline]

[Text] New York, January 12 (BTA correspondent)—In his speech delivered at the extraordinary session of the Security Council called at Libya's request, Mr. Aleksandur Strezov, permanent representative of Bulgaria at the United Nations, expressed the concern of the Bulgarian public over the incident excited by the United States—the bringing down of two Libyan aircraft in the Mediterranean—an act contradicting the improvement of international relations which happens at a time of growing efforts aimed at finding political solutions to all problems. It was underlined that Bulgaria supports the demand voiced at the Security Council requesting withdrawal of all foreign marines from the Mediterranean, especially those carrying nuclear weapons. This is a condition conducive to the consolidation of peace, the advancement of cooperation and joining forces for finding constructive solutions.

Paris Chemical Weapons Conference Detailed

Olechowski Gives Address

AU1201092989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 89 p 7

[Speech by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski at an international conference on the elimination of chemical weapons at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris on 7 January]

[Text] Mr Chairman. The conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has proved conclusively that real disarmament is possible, provided that the relevant countries display the necessary political desire. The disarmament decisions recently presented at the UN General Assembly by Mikhail Gorbachev provide unprecedented possibilities for achieving a breakthrough in conventional disarmament as well, and also encourage the elimination of an entire class of mass-destruction weapons—chemical weapons—once and for all.

We are genuinely convinced that the present conference may and should encourage this objective. We state with satisfaction that this conviction was confirmed by all of international society in the resolution on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons that was unanimously adopted at the 43d General Assembly session.

Mr Chairman. The 1988 disarmament conference's work on a convention to eliminate chemical weapons was not completely satisfactory. Nevertheless, it is our objective opinion that the disarmament conference, especially its ad hoc chemical weapons committee, could lead to a solution of basic problems connected with the convention.

I would like to take this opportunity to remind you that in Resolution 43/74c, the General Assembly expressed the hope that the conference of signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and other interested countries would lead to the successful conclusion of the talks on a chemical weapons convention, and that all countries would join in the process of attaining the objectives laid down by the conference.

For we believe that the call for a quickest possible end to the disarmament conference's work on a convention to ban chemical weapons should be the most important feature of the final document of the Paris conference.

Chemical weapons have met with firm condemnation for centuries. The outrage caused by the use of gas in World War I led to the signing of the Geneva Protocol in 1925, which banned the use of toxic or poisonous gases and bacteriological resources in warfare.

That is why we observe with deep concern cases in which chemical weapons are deployed. We condemn them utterly. We do not view them as a weakening of the terms of the Geneva Protocol, but as a violation thereof, which displays a weakening of the commitments stemming from this still important legal instrument. We state with satisfaction that international society's reaction to, fortunately sporadic, cases of violating this protocol shows that the terms of the protocol have taken deep root in the consciousness and practice of countries, as a result of which the protocol has become one of the most widespread norms of international law, deserving to be included among the cardinal principles of the law of nations. Therefore, the Polish delegation is of the opinion that the conference participants should ceremoniously confirm the continuing validity of the commitments stemming from the Geneva Protocol. We also believe that the conference should issue an appeal to countries that are not party to this protocol to sign it as soon as possible, thus giving it a truly universal nature.

Poland's concern to eliminate chemical weapons as quickly as possible stems from the basic principles of its foreign policy.

Poland made a major contribution to the formulation of the ban contained in the protocol, which not only applies to chemical weapons, but to bacteriological ones as well. Our country was one of the first to sign the Geneva Protocol in 1925. As we have said many times, Poland has never produced chemical weapons, nor has ever it possessed any. It never was, and is still not, our intention to possess them.

The UN General Assembly resolution on the working out of a report by the general secretary on the effects of using chemical and bacteriological weapons was adopted on Poland's initiative in 1968. This report has strengthened international society's conviction about an urgent need to eliminate these weapons.

On behalf of my government, I wish to say that Poland intends to be one of the first to sign the future convention.

Olechowski, Counterparts Confer

LD1101221689 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 11 Jan 89

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Jan 11—On the last day the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons today head of a Polish delegation, Poland's foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski met with his French counterpart Roland Dumas. [sentence as received]

The talk focused on Polish-French cooperation with reference to the recent official visit to Paris by Tadeusz Olechowski. The sides agreed that as part of preparations for Francois Mitterrand's visit to Poland Roland Dumas would pay a visit to Warsaw next April.

Also today Olechowski met with Chinese foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The two positively assessed the state of mutual relations, stating that this year may bring their further animation. 1989 is the year of the 40th anniversary of People's China and marks 40 years of establishing diplomatic relations between both countries. In connection with this expected are numerous contacts at the level of the leaderships of the governments and the parties. Both ministers favourably evaluated current trends in the international situation and stressed possibilities of cooperation between the two countries' diplomacies in this field.

Also on Wednesday Olechowski held a talk with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq 'Aziz. The talk concerned the working out of long-term programs of economic cooperation between both countries. A visit of Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in Baghdad, awaited with much interest, will surely provide an opportunity to intensify this cooperation. The sides underscored the importance of the ongoing session of the Polish-Iraqi Joint Commission in Baghdad.

The conference on banning chemical weapons wound up on Wednesday.

The Polish delegation headed by Minister Olechowski played an active part in the work of the conference and in discussions on a draft final declaration. Olechowski was elected deputy chairman of the conference and chaired its plenary session this morning.

Mladenov Expresses 'Readiness'

AU1101150289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

["Speech of the minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Petur Mladenov, at the Paris conference on chemical weapons on 9 Jan]

[Text] Mr Chairman,
First of all I would like to say how much our government appreciates the timely and important initiative to convene this conference, and to thank our kind hosts for their hospitality and the excellent conditions they have created for our work.

Ladies and gentlemen,
I note with satisfaction that a fresh and positive trend has been observable in international relations in the last 2-3 years. The role of weapons is being reconsidered in the light of the new realities, and peaceful solutions for conflict situations and urgent pressing world problems are being sought.

The first results of the new political thinking are evident. The USSR-U. S. INF Treaty was unanimously assessed as a breakthrough in the area of nuclear disarmament. The prospects for reducing strategic offensive weapons strengthen the hope of gradually eliminating the nuclear arsenals. Mikhail Gorbachev's ideas, presented at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, revealed new horizons of decreasing military confrontation.

The total ban on and elimination of chemical weapons throughout the world is an issue of independent and exceptionally great importance within the process of implementing disarmament measures.

For many decades chemical weapons have caused alarm and indignation. Such weapons have been used in many wars and conflicts. Millions of people, who died in indescribable suffering or remained invalids, became victims of these weapons.

In the twenties the world decided to eliminate the nightmare of chemical war. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 was signed with this goal in mind. Bulgaria was among the first countries to sign the protocol.

As we have already declared, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is not producing chemical weapons, and there are no such weapons on its territory. Furthermore, the Bulgarian Government introduced restrictions on the export of chemicals that could be used to produce chemical weapons.

We greet the initiative to convene this forum. The statements we have heard here correspond to the intention of the Paris conference—to place the issue of refraining from the use of chemical weapons and chemical disarmament at the center of the world public's attention.

Guided by common sense we have joined efforts to seek ways of eliminating these weapons. We must note that essential progress has been achieved. However, it also is true that there are still differences and unresolved problems.

The issue more and more comes down to questions that directly engage the political will of the countries and affect confidence and the balance of interests. I believe that, despite the vestiges and past stereotypes, the international public is gradually finding a common language in discussing these fundamental issues.

I would like to recall that the essence of the proposal of the Warsaw Pact member states of 10 January 1984 on freeing Europe of chemical weapons, supplemented and specified by the initiatives to created zones free of chemical weapons in the Balkans and central Europe, was aimed at a worldwide ban on and the elimination of chemical weapons.

The positions of the socialist countries on free and equal control, based on glasnost and openness, also facilitate the achievement of a crucial turning point at the Geneva talks.

The promising prospect of eliminating a whole class of weapons of mass destruction is in sight. Such a step would answer the hopes, appeals, and expectations of the world public.

In order to achieve this goal we find it necessary to discuss the problems that remain open in a businesslike atmosphere of goodwill and lack of confrontation, being guided by the conviction that the use of chemical weapons as a threat is bankrupt from a strategic point of view, and absurd and immoral from a political point of view.

It is our conviction that this forum must give powerful political support to such an attitude. This would give great importance to the Paris forum and would facilitate its decisions being turned from wishful thinking into a practical impetus to adopt specific measures.

The problem of preventing the use of chemical weapons will continue to exist until the task of totally banning chemical weapons and destroying the arsenals of such weapons is complete.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always categorically opposed the use of chemical weapons and the violation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

In this context we would like to impart the following considerations:

First. The reiteration of the obligations established by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 could be an expression of the universal concern about the use of chemical weapons.

Second. Additional measures are required to strengthen the Geneva Protocol, and in the same context, strengthen the role of the UN General Assembly, Security Council, and secretary general.

Third. It would be especially beneficial if the countries that have not signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 do so as soon as possible. The protocol would thus truly become a universal international instrument.

Fourth. In the name of international security we decisively oppose all forms of proliferation of chemical weapons.

We believe that the signing of a convention on banning the development, production, and accumulation of chemical weapons, as well as destroying the arsenals of such weapons, is the main way of removing the danger at present.

The signing of such a convention would represent a political event of exceptional importance. It would confirm the countries' determination to march along the road of real disarmament. In this sense it would represent one of the most essential measures of strengthening confidence and international security. The convention would be the most significant success in the area of multilateral disarmament achieved so far.

The Paris conference could have primary importance in achieving broad international consensus on this matter. Fixing strict terms of chemical disarmament could produce an important mobilizing effect. It is no accident that the year 2000 is being pinpointed as the final date for the physical destruction of the arsenals of chemical weapons.

Guided by the willingness to achieve greater dynamics and efficiency at the multilateral talks in Geneva, the People's Republic of Bulgaria proposes:

—to give the Special Committee on Chemical Weapons a mandate to prepare the final draft of the convention simultaneously with the opening of the conference on disarmament at the beginning of February.

—for this purpose the continuity of the Special Committee's work during 1989 is to be ensured.

I have been authorized to announce that, in the spirit of these ideas of ours, the People's Republic of Bulgaria declares its readiness to sign a convention on banning and destroying chemical weapons immediately after the convention, and appeals to all states to issue similar declarations.

Ladies and gentlemen,
The conviction that we must struggle not only to save the world from a catastrophe but also to establish new international relations, free of militarism, dictate, and cruelty, is a common and international one. Chemical and other weapons are sad children of an obsolete attitude. Such weapons must have no place in the community of civilized nations. As Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, recently stated, it is necessary to finally eliminate the threat of armed violence and "gradually advance from the traditional kind of peaceful coexistence toward mutually dependent coexistence, which will turn war into an anachronism, and not only from a military point of view."

Thank you for your attention.

Mladenov Meets PRC Minister

AU1101141989 Sofia BTA in English
1328 GMT 11 Jan 89

["Bulgaro-Chinese Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Paris, January 11 (BTA corr.)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, had a meeting here yesterday with Mr. Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of China. In a friendly atmosphere they discussed the condition of the Bulgaro-Chinese relations and expressed satisfaction over their development. The two ministers stressed that of great importance for the strengthening of the relations between the two countries were the meetings in 1987 between Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Zhao Ziyang, who opened new stage in the history of Bulgaro-Chinese relations. Mr. Petur Mladenov spoke of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria and Mr. Qian Qichen dwelled on the tasks at present in China. The Chinese minister emphasized the interest of his country in Bulgaria's experience in socialist construction. The two sides stressed that there is a desire for further strengthening of the Bulgaro-Chinese friendship and of the cooperation between the two states in all spheres.

During the talk attention was paid to the course of the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons which is attended by the two ministers. It was ascertained that there is similarity of the opinions on the most important questions set at the conference.

Totu's Concluding Statement

AU1101204889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2021 GMT 11 Jan 89

["Statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Relation to the Endorsement of the Final Document of the Paris Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/01/1988—During the debates on the endorsement of the final declaration, in the closing session of the conference, Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu took the floor, presenting the statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in relation to the endorsement of the final document of the Paris conference, which reads:

Romania considers that the current international conference on banning the chemical arms, in Paris, is particularly important for the general process of disarmament. Romania has participated in this conference wishing to make its full contribution and bring its full support to halting the arms race, to eliminating all the mass-destruction arms, the nuclear arms in the first place, to eliminating and liquidating the chemical arms.

That is why, in relation to the draft of the final declaration, Romania underscores the need for firm actions to ban the production, storage and use of chemical weapons, to fully remove them from the states' military arsenals. In the context Romania declares it remains faithful to the signature placed on the Geneva Protocol, in 1925, on banning the use of the chemical arms at time of war, and it will work in keeping with the provisions of this protocol.

Taking into account the developments in the production of mass-destruction weapons, the emergence of new arms with a great destructive power and first of all, the emergence of the nuclear arms, Romania considers that any decision regarding bans on the chemical arms must be part and parcel of a set of measures aiming at banning the production, storage and use of any mass-destruction arms, of nuclear arms in the first place. The measures regarding chemical, nuclear, conventional disarmament must stand in tight relation and be applied simultaneously, under strict international control.

Romania considers that the adoption of any measures to eliminate nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons should start from the ensurance of an equal security for all states, from the removal of any possibilities of blackmail by using one or another kind of weapon, by using force and the threat of force and that each country's sovereignty and independence should be completely ensured, on the basis of adequate pledges of all states.

Romania firmly declares for the conclusion of a general treaty or accord on banning the production, use and deposit of chemical weapons as well as of a universal general treaty on liquidating nuclear weapons and any weapons of mass destruction, ceasing their production and testing which should come into force at the same time with the convention for banning the chemical weapons production, use and deposit.

Romania restates in this framework, too, its determination to contribute also in future, together with other states, to attaining the noble purpose of disarmament, of the removal of the danger of destroying life on our planet and of the ensurance of peoples' peace and security.

Malile To Make 'Official Visit' to Paris

AU1001151189 Paris AFP in English 1450 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, Jan 10 (AFP)—Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile will make an official visit to France soon, becoming his country's first foreign minister to do so, informed sources said here Tuesday.

The report came after a meeting between Mr. Malile and his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, who is chairing the international conference on chemical arms here.

The visit will probably take place sometime in the first quarter of this year on a date not yet decided, the sources said.

Two senior officials of the French Foreign Ministry have made official trips to Albania in the past few years.

Mr. Malile, here for the chemical arms conference, has also held talks with his Yugoslav, Greek, Bulgarian and Romanian counterparts in Paris, sources said.

Press Criticizes Macedonian SR National Policy

AU1001102289 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 10 Jan 89

["Obscurantist Act in the Chain of Attacks Against the Albanian Language and Albanian Culture—On the Removal of Memorable Slab From the Building Where the Congress of the Alphabet of the Albanian Language Was Held in Bitola"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 10 (ATA)—The newspaper MESUESI in its today's issue carries an article under the same title written by Prof Androkli Kostallari, director of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the PSR of Albania, which says among the other things:

The organs of the Assembly of Bitola Commune decided to remove the memorable slab from the building where it was held the congress of the alphabet of the Albanian language—one of the most brilliant pages not only in the history of the Albanian culture and Albanian people, but also of the other peoples of the Balkans. This is as bitter as ugly.

We considered the memorable slab put in the building where the Manastir Congress [Albanian name for Bitola] was held 20 years ago on the approval of the state organs and social organizations of Skopje and Bitola as a step of homage. Whereas now these same organs removed this slab. This is in fact, as the Collegium of the Branches of Albanian Language and Literature of Pristina University rightfully puts it, "a strange and unacceptable act...which completely runs contrary to the elementary norms and principles," accepted by Yugoslavia itself and "to the international norms on the historic and cultural monuments wherever they are." This is not only an act of vandalism against the Albanian language and Albanian culture, an act that aims at liquidating the historic values of the Albanian nation, but also a heavy offense to the memory of those who have fought for the freedom and progress of the peoples of the Balkans, an offense to the dignity of the population of Macedonia itself, to the progressive and democratic forces of all the countries that are really striving today for understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect among peoples. Consequently, such a stand cannot fail to arouse a profound and legitimate indignation among the Albanians and other peoples as well.

The removal of the memorial slab from the building of the Manastir Congress is not a separated or occasional act. It is part of the chain of the frontal, organised, and coordinated attacks undertaken in the recent years by the Skopje officials for the denationalization of the Albanian population residing in their soil in Macedonia, to wipe out every trace of the historic and cultural traditions of the Albanians in these territories. Particularly the Albanian language, fundamental feature of the Albanian nation and concentrated expression of their great spiritual values, is in the center of the attacks.

In opposition to the Constitution of the SFRY and Macedonia itself, the use of the Albanian language in the official activity of the communes inhabited by the Albanian population not only is banned but is considered as a grave fault. As the newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA admitted some time ago, 54 Albanian teachers from Tetovo were punished only because they had written the school diaries in the Albanian language. The school reports and diplomas of the Albanian pupils and students who attend school in Kosovo are considered as invalid in Macedonia, because they are written in Albanian and cannot be used to find a job.

Resorting to violence and overt threats, the compaign to Macedonianize the names and surnames of the Albanians as well as the names of the cities and villages inhabited by them is stepping up. The family chief heads are forced to cross the usual Albanian suffixes and endings off the surnames of their families and replace them with Macedonian ones. In order to minimize the specific weight of the Albanians, who as it is known, make up about half of the population of the SR of Macedonia, the chauvinists of Skopje have gone so far as to invent another nationality unknown by history up to this day—the socalled "Moslem Macedonians."

As it is known, now linguistics and onomastics, archaeology, ethnography, and other sciences related to them have proved convincingly that the ancient names like Shkup, Nish, Sharr, Shtip, Ohri, etc. [Skopje, Nis, Sar, Stip, Ohrid], documented since the ancient times, have assumed these forms in the tongue of the Albanians' predecessors, according to the historic laws of the Albanian language, earlier than the Slavs' rush to these territories. These names were either mastered later by the southern Slavs in their Albanian form (that is Nis, Sar, Stip) or were adopted by them to the structure of the Slav language (i.e. Skopje, Ohrid, etc.).

In all these cases we have not to do with other names, but with the Albanian form of the said names. To demand today that the toponyms which have taken form since centuries ago according to the rules of the Albanian language be written or pronounced according to the phonetic-morphological structure of the Macedonian language means not to want to know the operation of the linguistic laws and the systems of the languages and to overthrow the historic relations of the peoples and their cultures. It is quite astonishing that in our time, when these elementary truths are well-known even by the school pupils, such an absurd demand is supported also by "The Macedonian Academy of Sciences."

Besides, such a demand which openly runs counter to the linguistic laws and the laws of the Yugoslav state, runs also counter to the international agreements operating in the field of the geographical denominations. It is common knowledge that at present in Yugoslavia the names of places are pronounced and written according to the language of the nations and nationalities, or in both languages spoken in a territory. For instance, the Serbs call Rome, Rim; Vienna, Bec; Salonika, Solun; Athens, Atina; Klagenfurt, Celovec; Durres, Drac; the Slovenian minority in Austria call the region of Kaernten [Carinthia] Koroska; the Italian minority in Yugoslavia call Rijeka Fiume, etc. None of the states demands that these names be pronounced or written otherwise. The respective law too, adopted in Macedonia, stresses literally that "no-one has the right to change or modify the names of dwelling places." On the other hand, the international decisions adopted by the UN, arranging the standardization of the geographical names, allow several ways of pronunciation and writing of the toponyms: among others, according to the source (i.e. according to the denomination in the local language), and according to the tradition (i.e. as it has been rooted in the linguistic consciousness of one or the other people). The London Congress too (1909), which adopted decisions supporting the preservation of the imperialists' domination on the colonies, was forced to accept that on these territories the name in the language of the local population be used parallel with the one in the official language. It is clearly seen that the orientations of the organs of Skopje concerning the toponyms surpass even the decisions of the London Congress, adopted under the dictate of the imperialist colonizers.

This situation is reflected in the field of education as well. Gradually, the schooling in the mother tongue is becoming impossible for the Albanian children and youths. In general this is realised through violent ways, overt or covert ones, through legalized forms like the present socalled "mixed classes," where pupils are taught "in the Macedonian language." In fact, it means not to allow that the Albanian language be taught in the secondary schools of Macedonia. Moreover, as the newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA reports, now discussion is going on so that the learning in the Albanian language be also abolished in the primary schools. This has aroused a legitimate indignation and successive protests on the part of the Albanian pupils and teachers, but no one takes them into consideration. On the contrary, according to the reports from Macedonia, the organs of Skopje adopt fierce punitive measures against those who seek that the Constitution be observed and teaching in the Albanian language be allowed. These organs do not fail to sentence with imprisonment not only the grown-ups but the little ones as well. These actions have aroused worries and indignation within Yugoslavia.

Accompanied with the liquidation and non-use of the works written by Albanian authors in the Albanian language, including here the Kosovo authors as well, these measures in the present Macedonia are suffocating the Albanian literary language and the Albanian culture even for that population officially known as Albanian and who enjoys the legal right to use its mother tongue "equally with the Macedonian language" in all the fields of activity. They have gone so far in this road as to prohibit this population of singing Albanian songs.

It is crystal clear that all these acts, together with the limitation of births of the Albanian children, are part and parcel of the far-reaching and all-sided plans to create there a Slav-Macedonian "pure ethnos." In the context of this violent rush was removed also the memorable slab from the building of the Congress of Manastir. With this decision, the official organs of Skopje put a seal of shame upon themselves. The name of the Congress of Manastir itself, the boundless love for the Albanian word and the national culture, have deep roots in the hearts of the Albanians. And nobody has uprooted or can uproot them from this heart.

Mitterrand To Visit 'Second Half of January'

AU1101150989 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of France, will pay an official visit to Bulgaria in the second half of January this year.

Gorbachev's 6 Jan Moscow Speech Discussed

AU1101142689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Jan 89 p 1

[Commentary by TRUD foreign political commentator Pavel Pisarev: "Dialectics of the New"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's meetings with representatives from various strata of Soviet society—workers, peasants, scientists, and cultural and press figures, have increased in frequency and have become a distinguishing feature in the style of the Soviet leadership. These meetings are turning into comradely conversations in a party spirit on important issues concerning the country's development, and are revealing the democratic nature of the exercise of power in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leader's first meeting this year was with scientists and cultural figures. This emphasizes the increased role of the intellectual efforts of the people and the intelligentsia in the expanding restructuring and in the social processes in general.

The restructuring has engulfed the deepest foundations of Soviet society. Beginning with the organizational and administrative changes among the cadres, it is now turning into a deep-going revolution affecting society's production relations, its economic structure, political superstructure, and the superstructure of society in general.

Restructuring is gaining pace. At the same time, the dialectics of restructuring are revealing two negative processes that reflect public opinion. Some people hold the view that restructuring is harmful, "leading to chaos and immunity from punishment," and that it supposedly "endangers the normal development of the country"; others believe that "the framework of socialism is too confined for restructuring," and that "political pluralism, a multiparty system, and even private property are needed." Both the first and and the second groups are dealing blows against restructuring and against the party.

As Mikhail Gorbachev stresses, differences in views naturally appear in discussions. However, the discussions cannot fall outside the attention of the party, which is the organizer of restructuring.

Some people are calling for "a firm hand." They want to polish up the dust-covered weapons of the past. Mikhail Gorbachev is calling for consolidation and constructive work, for democratic solutions to the contradictions that have arisen, and for action. The best proof of the essence of this method for overcoming the difficulties is the call made specifically to the intelligentsia to intensify their efforts in aid of restructuring through multiplying the forces of the people. Those same people, who suffer from nostalgia for the past or have no faith in the future, will now look through the Soviet leader's speech for signs of a shift in position. No such shift exists. The speech affirms the Soviet leadership's determination to continue unswervingly with the policy of restructuring. This is also confirmed by this year's broadly based program for action.

Liberalization of Visa-Issuing Policy Explored

AU1001143589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Petur Vulkanov, chief of the Consular Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by unnamed OTECHESTVEN FRONT Editorial Board "representative": "What Bulgarians Traveling Abroad Should Know"; place and date not given]

[Text] The questions in this interview with Petur Vulkanov, chief of the Foreign Affairs Ministry Consular Section, by a representative of our editorial board, were suggested by our readers. We have recently received an increasing number of letters, from which it appears that there is great interest about everything related to Bulgarian citizens' travels to foreign countries. Statistics indeed show that such travels are constantly increasing.

In general terms, what should Bulgarian citizens know when traveling abroad, who protects their interests, and how—this was the first question of our interview.

Petur Vulkanov answered: As a matter of fact, the number of Bulgarian citizens traveling abroad has increased in recent years. I will cite some data. In 1987, 540,557 Bulgarians visited other countries, while in the first months of 1988 that number amounted to 760,912. It is expected that this number will reach approximately 950,000 for the whole year. Within the same period the number of Bulgarian citizens traveling to nonsocialist countries has more than doubled. Influenced by the processes of restructuring and further democratization, this trend will further develop. This is the reason for your justified interest about the way in which the rights of Bulgarian citizens abroad are protected. For us, the individual, his fate, and his problems represent the core of consular activities. Without exaggerating, I can say that the implementation and protection of the legitimate rights and interests of Bulgarian citizens abroad are the essential topics on which the work of our diplomatic and consular missions abroad is focused. In this respect the role of consular officials abroad and their responsibilities have been greatly enhanced. A Bulgarian citizen abroad is always entitled to request their assistance and cooperation, and no one is authorized to prevent him from doing so. Naturally, every Bulgarian who is in a foreign country is obliged to observe the laws of that country and to respect the customs and traditions existing there. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has signed 33 consular conventions, and other such conventions are soon to be signed. It is being discussed whether or not our country should join the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. All this represents a solid international basis for the effective defense of the rights and interests of Bulgarian citizens abroad.

[Question] Could you give us more specific details about the work of Bulgarian missions abroad in regard to the protection of the rights and interests of Bulgarian citizens, and how would you evaluate them?

[Vulkanov] The functions of consular officials are numerous and varied. I would just like to dwell on some of the more important ones. Along with the basic functions of protecting the rights and interests of Bulgarian physical and legal persons abroad, the following obligations are within the competence of consular officials: implementation of notary obligations; certifying documents; issuing of citizenship certificates; transfer of legal and other documents, or carrying out court orders; cooperation in guaranteeing the inheritance rights of Bulgarian citizens; assistance in case of accidents, and so forth. Frequently our representatives abroad have to provide financial assistance to Bulgarian citizens in emergencies and help them return to the country.

Unfortunately, individual cases exist in which our consular services abroad have shown a bureaucratic and unsympathetic attitude to the troubles and problems of our compatriots abroad. I would like to assure you that most severe measures are taken against such manifestations.

It is our ambition to improve our consular work to perfection in light of the restructuring process which is under way in our country. This is expressed in the increased requirements and criteria for the professional training of our consular workers and in the complete updating of the norms and regulations to which their activities are subjected.

[Question] The problems of cooperation in the humanitarian sector are becoming increasingly topical. What is the practice applied by our country in dealing with and solving humanitarian cases?

[Vulkanov] Questions of human rights are dealt with on the basis of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Within the last 10-15 years these issues were further developed in the Helsinki Final Act, in the final document of the Madrid meeting, and of other international forums. I would like to point out that in international legal theory, there have been debates on several aspects of humanitarian issues, since they are not specifically settled on a uniform basis, and opinions on them differ.

Various humanitarian questions naturally arise from the expansion of contacts among people. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is carefully watching these cases, and resolves them in accordance with our domestic legislation and on the basis of international criteria in this sphere. This was once more confirmed in the Declaration of the Bulgarian National Assembly adopted on 16 December 1988 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The National Assembly document declares that the supreme organ of our state power will "steadily support the goals and principles of the Universal Declaration and will see to it that the adopted international covenants and other international treaties in the sphere of human rights, which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has signed, should be observed."

Guided by the aspiration to achieve a positive solution of all emerging humanitarian problems, our country devotes systematic efforts toward alleviating the problems of people in individual cases. Thus for example, 228 such cases involving relations with the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, Austria, the FRG, France, and Turkey were positively settled in 1987 and 1988. The applications of certain citizens were not accepted, mainly because these people had failed to fulfill their obligations toward state organs and departments and economic and public organizations, involving property, financial, and labor-law commitments.

Those Bulgarian citizens, whose applications were accepted for humanitarian reasons and who actually went abroad, received passports issued for a period of 5 years. I would like to stress in particular that they all continue to be Bulgarian citizens and are entitled to return to their homeland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We recently dealt with such cases involving the Republic of Turkey. Disappointed with the real conditions existing in that country, several people returned to Bulgaria, where they again feel themselves to be citizens enjoying full rights in our socialist state.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always declared itself in favor of developing contacts between people, and continues to adopt practical measures in this respect. The goodwill and humanitarian approach manifested by our country in dealing with and resolving cases of a humanitarian nature have been positively evaluated by several states, foreign public institutions, and individuals.

[Question] Recently, the Turkish side, through its mass media, taking advantage of the humanitarian cases that have been resolved, began to spread rumors about some alleged forthcoming discussion about a so-called "emigration question" being behind the concept of "humanitarian cooperation". What can you say on this subject?

[Vulkanov] Propaganda actions of this nature are nothing new, we are used to them. Relying on some people's naivete and lack of information, the Turkish side takes advantage of sensational revelations in order to distort the truth about the Bulgarian-Turkish dialogue.

It is a well-known fact that the question of emigration was already exhausted and ceased to exist in Bulgarian-Turkish relations by 1978. This was mutually recognized with the expiration of the 1968 agreement on the reunification of separated families concluded by an exchange of verbal notes on 30 November 1978. This fact was confirmed by Todor Zhivkov and Kenan Evren, the heads of state of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey, in an announcement released on 27 February 1982.

I would also like to recall that on 23 February 1988 the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey signed a protocol in Belgrade which does not even mention emigration from Bulgaria. No Bulgarian-Turkish agreements on any level whatsoever include such a commitment on our side. The opposite is true—it has been categorically declared that such problems do not exist in our bilateral relations; therefore no discussion on them is required.

The imaginary issue concerning some kind of minority existing in our country has never been and cannot be a subject of discussion with any other country. There is no interstate treaty concerning Bulgarian-Turkish relations in which the existence of a "Turkish minority" in our country is mentioned, but in contrast to this, the existence of a Bulgarian minority in Turkey has actually been referred to. This applies no less to all kinds of negotiations on the emigration of Bulgarian citizens.

Regardless of how much the Turkish newspapers may write and the Turkish radio may talk about some kind of alleged emigration, no one is capable of turning back the pages of history. Bulgaria has been a free country for the last 110 years and a natural, irreversible process of national unification has taken place. All Bulgarian people have erased the remnants of 5 centuries of Ottoman oppression, and the question of an alleged "minority" and of "emigration" does not exist, is not subject to discussion, and will not be discussed under any pretext or in any form whatsoever with any other country. Bulgaria is the homeland of its own citizens and has no reason to let them emigrate to other countries. Their future is linked to this country.

[Question] Our country is well known for its highly developed international tourism. At the same time, the restructuring process taking place in Bulgaria creates more favorable conditions for expanding cooperation with other states in the economic and scientific-technical spheres. Can you describe the measures adopted to facilitate contacts with other states in this respect?

[Vulkanov] The establishment of closer contacts in various spheres of cooperation with other states naturally affects our consular relations, as well. This is why easing formalities and facilitating the visa system is an important task in our work.

As early as the sixties, our country signed bilateral agreements on eliminating visas with socialist states, as well as with other countries, such as Austria, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, and Sweden. We have currently signed treaties on eliminating visas with 26 states and agreements on facilitating the issue of visas with 24 other countries.

Our visa system is one of the most liberal in the world. Consular services in our missions abroad issue entry visas for the People's Republic of Bulgaria within 7 working days from the date of the visa application, and transit visas are even granted on the same day. We authorize specially favorable conditions in the procedure of issuing visas to certain categories of foreign citizens such as: managers and employees of joint enterprises with our country; persons who possess a share of capital in joint enterprises; and representatives of foreign companies with which Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and associations maintain regular business contacts. The number of such people is constantly increasing.

The further improvement of our domestic legislation dealing with the regulations and formalities on the access and to stay of foreign citizens in our country will be pursued. The possibility of issuing special and urgent entry visas is being discussed. Such visas would be obtained on entering the country at border control checkpoints and on the day the application is submitted by respective Bulgarian foreign missions abroad. Naturally, efforts will be made to ease the visa regime in accordance with bilateral agreements. An example in this respect was set by the recent agreement with the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the introduction of a new procedure for issuing visas for mutual visits between the two countries. We hope that similar agreements providing optimal, temporary conditions for issuing visas will be reached with other states as well. Such agreements represent a basic prerequisite for the implementation of extensive and close cooperation in all spheres of bilateral relations.

Reorganization of Courts Viewed by Official

AU1001100889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Angel Dzhambazov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Justice, by Milena Dimitrova, representative of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board: "Legal Services in Sofia Are Allocated to Six District Courts and Prosecutor's Offices"; date and place not given]

[Text] Under Decision No 22 of 12 December 1988, the State Council defined six districts for the district courts and prosecutor's offices and determined the number of judges in Sofia. From 1 January 1989, the existing 11 district courts and prosecutor's offices that corresponded to the old administrative-territorial division of the capital were closed. Angel Dzhambazov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Justice, commented on the decision to Milena Dimitrova, representative of the Editorial Board:

[Dhzmbazov] The Law on Organization of the Courts states that the State Council determines the court districts. Accordingly, every change is imposed by a decision of this body.

[Dimitrova] How are the 24 municipalities of Sofia, which operate as self-managing territorial units, allocated among the six new district courts and prosecutor's offices?

[Dzhambazov] No 1 District Court covers the municipalities of Sredets, Lozenets, Triaditsa, Chervena Zvezda, and Slatina; No 2 District Court covers Serdika, Nadezhda, and Novi Iskur Municipalities; No 3 District Court covers Vuzrazhdane, Ilinden, Lyulin, Bankya, Krasna Polyana, and Vrubnitsa Municipalities; No 4 District Court covers Krasno Selo, Ovcha Kupel, and Vitosha Municipalities; No 5 District Court covers Poduyane, Oborishte, and Kremikovtsi Municipalities; and No 6 District Court covers Mladost, Iskur, Studentska, and Pancharevo Municipalities. The number of judges and deputy chairmen is in accordance with the size of the population in the individual districts.

[Dimitrova] What made the new district divisions necessary? From July 1986, 11 judicial organs were in operation, almost twice the present number.

[Dhzmbazov] It has turned out that it is not expedient for the courts to be so fragmented. For example, only three judges worked in the former Kremikovtsi District Court, which did not allow them to specialize sufficiently and carry out high-quality work.

[Dimitrova] How are the new court organs and prosecutor's offices engaging in the campaign for more order and security?

[Dzhambazov] We looked for forms that would enable us to return to greater specialization of the judicial cadres in the capital. Crime and civil disputes have their own specific aspects. If we create sound specialization among the judicial and prosecuting staff, we will achieve more precise and effective control over crime. On the other hand, there are the preventive and educative aspects of the work.

[Dimitrova] At what addresses will the new district courts operate?

[Dhzambazov] The two addresses of the Sofia courts remain the same: No 6 Dragan Tsankov Boulevard and No 159, 9th September Boulevard. We have no other court buildings available. Unfortunately, there will be no change in the everyday conditions in the buildings. The executive juridical services will also be reallocated, because they form part of the district courts. They will remain at the same address, at No 2 Patriarkh Evtimiy Boulevard, and the Sofia Notarial Office will remain as a single combined organ.

[Dimitrova] How will the new district organization be promulgated to the citizens of Sofia?

[Dhzambazov] In addition to radio and press announcements, we have ordered a large map. This map will be posted in the entrance hall at No 6 Dragan Tsankov Boulevard. As well as this, similar, but smaller maps will be printed in sufficient numbers.

Experts Depart for UK To Investigate Crash

LD1101170389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] In harmony with international legal obligations of Czechoslovakia concerning the fight against terrorism, the federal government, in a statement made by the press spokesman of the Foreign Ministry on 30 December last year, offered help to the British Government in investigating the causes of the crash of the Pan Am aircraft in Scotland on 21 December. This offer was officially accepted 6 January.

Today a group of Czechoslovak experts left by air for London. Together with British experts they will attempt to find out what type of explosive was used, and other details of the explosion which caused the tragedy of the U.S. aircraft.

Proposal Made for Worldwide Talks on Explosives

AU1201110789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 89 p 2

[Josef Nyvlt commentary: "Will a Joint Initiative Come About?"]

[Text] As we have already reported, on 6 January the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented to the British side a proposal that concerns a sensitive area in Czechoslovak-British relations and that, at the same time, in its significance extends far beyond bilateral relations. The purpose of the joint initiative which the CSSR is offering to Great Britain would be talks between experts and representatives of all producers of plastic explosives under UN auspices. They should result in an international convention on the principles of the marking and detection (ascertainability) of plastic explosives, including producers' obligation to provide information on the deliveries of these substances and their customers on an annual basis.

What is the background of this initiative? The British authorities as well British media have repeatedly been linking actions by various terrorist groups in Northern Ireland with accusations to the effect that Czechoslovakia had something in common with deliveries of CSSR-manufactured explosives (Semtex brand) to these terrorist groups [sentence as published]. As is known, such charges have now been raised in Great Britain in connection with the Pan Am airliner tragedy. As a matter of fact, we have already written about this.

Representatives of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs have declared repeatedly and quite unequivocally that the CSSR is against all forms of terrorism and has never supplied, does not supply, and will never supply weapons, explosives, or other materials to any terrorist organization.

Plastic explosives for industrial use similar to Czechoslovak-made Semtex are produced by a number of enterprises all over the world, including NATO countries (in the United States, for instance, they are known under the designation "C4," in Austria under the name "knauerits," and so forth). These explosives have varying degrees of detectability, that is, they can be easy or more difficult to identify by detection devices at airports. It has been pointed out that the Czechoslovak-manufactured explosive Semtex belongs to those explosives that are difficult to identify by the relevant equipment. This issue can be dealt with, however, provided that the procedures applied by all manufacturers are standardized on the international scale.

The Czechoslovak initiative proposed to the British Government pursues precisely this aim—to develop joint international efforts directed against the possible misuse of plastic explosives, whose production amounts to thousands of tonnes every year. Marking and identification, mainly during the transfer of explosives, play an important part [in preventing the misuse of these explosives] since, as has already been mentioned, many plastic explosives are undetectable by the present commonly used means. The point is to set international and internationally respected norms that would be obligatory for all manufacturers.

This joint initiative by the CSSR and Great Britain could thus help ease the unnecessary burden in bilateral relations and, at the same time, become a joint extensive contribution to combating international terrorism.

More on Jakes Visit to Cuba, Nicaragua

Tours Institute, Combine

AU1001114789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by special correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek: "Among Havana Steelworkers; The Second Day of CPCZ General Secretary's Stay in Cuba"]

[Excerpts] Havana—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, visited the Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology Institute in Havana on Tuesday [3 January]. The same day he also visited the Jose Marti metallurgical combine. He was accompanied by Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and vice president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

The scientific-research institute which the Czechoslovak guest visited first is engaged in the development of biotechnology and genetic engineering in Cuba. Doctor Manuel Limonta, director of the institute, briefed the guest on the characteristics of this important scientific workplace, whose equipment makes it one of the most modern institutes of this kind in Latin America. [passage omitted]

On Tuesday Comrade Jakes also visited the Jose Marti metallurgical combine in the Havana suburb of Cotorro. This combine, which bears the name of the Cuban revolutionary patriot and national hero of the late 19th century, is today the largest enterprise of its kind in Cuba. [passage omitted]

Accompanied by senior managers of the enterprise, Comrade Jakes toured some of its operations and talked to employees. He expressed appreciation for the results achieved in the country's economic development and wished the workforce of the metallurgical combine further successes in work this year and in the years to come.

On Monday, the first day of his visit to Cuba, Milos Jakes also met with Czechoslovak citizens who live and work in Cuba. He briefed them on the present situation in Czechoslovakia and characterized some aspects of restructuring as well as the tasks of Communists in this process.

In the evening, together with his entourage, Comrade Jakes attended a festive concert in the Karl Marx Theater in Havana, held to mark the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

Tours Exhibit, Attends Rally

AU1001115189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by special correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek: "A Display of the Successes of 3 Decades; The Third Day of CPCZ General Secretary's Stay in Cuba"]

[Excerpts] Havana— Wednesday [4 January] morning, the third day of his official friendly visit to Cuba, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, visited the Copextel enterprise in Havana, one of the country's leading electronics companies. In the afternoon Comrade Jakes and the other Czechoslovak party and state representatives in his entourage visited the just-opened permanent exhibition of the country's successes achieved over the past 30 years, called Expocuba.

The Czechoslovak representatives, who include Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, and Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, were accompanied by Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and vice president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

Copextel is among the most modern enterprises of its kind in Cuba. [passage omitted] Its main production program are personal computers, in which Czechoslovakia has already expressed interest. The first shipment of personal computers will arrive this year, on the basis of an agreement that has already been signed. Accompanied by the senior managers of the enterprise, Comrade Jakes toured its operations for the assembly of monitors, keyboards, and other computer components and its quality control centers for incoming and outgoing products. [passage omitted]

The main event of the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution was a festive rally on the occasion of the opening of the Expocuba exhibition. Comrade Jakes assumed a place of honor on the platform, together with the highest Cuban representatives and the heads of the other delegations attending this year's festivities. The festive speech was delivered by the highest Cuban representative, Fidel Castro. [passage omitted]

Touring the exhibition ground, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee spoke appreciatively not only about the exhibition's general character and diversity, but also about those who had accomplished this major feat.

Holds Talks With Castro

AU1001135489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
6 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by special correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek: "Talks Between Comrades M. Jakes and F. Castro; the 4th Day of CPCZ General Secretary's Stay in Cuba"]

[Text] Havana— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who is paying an official friendly visit to Cuba, held talks with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in the Palace of the Revolution in Havana on 5 January. In a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the two representatives discussed the present state of relations between the two parties and countries and the prospects of their further development.

They briefed each other on the situation in their countries, the main tasks of economic and social construction, and the measures being taken to accomplish them. They also discussed a number of issues concerning the international communist and workers movement, and the present situation in the world.

At a festive ceremony in the Palace of the Revolution that preceded the talks between the two highest representatives of the two fraternal parties, M. Jakes presented F. Castro with the Klement Gottwald Order.

In his opening address at the ceremony, Milos Jakes said:

Dear Comrade Castro! This distinction was awarded to you at the recommendation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium by the CSSR president on the occasion of your 60th birthday, in recognition of the extraordinary services you have rendered to deepening the fraternal ties of friendship, alliance, and cooperation between our communist parties, the two countries, and their peoples. It is a sincere expression of the respect and esteem that you enjoy among the Czechoslovak people as an outstanding party and state representative of the Republic of Cuba and a faithful friend of Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak citizens are well-informed about your tireless work and your life, which you have dedicated to the struggle for the national freedom and social justice of the Cuban people. You rightly command great authority not only in your country, but also in the international communist and workers movement and in the Nonaligned Countries Movement. The PCC and the heroic Cuban people have had to pass many a severe test in the struggle for the victory and development of socialism. By your adherence to principles, your resolve, and your party and statesmanlike wisdom, you have demonstrated in all development periods of the Cuban revolution an unshakable fidelity to the ideals of socialism and proletarian and socialist internationalism and responsibility for the fate of your country.

The positive results of socialist construction achieved by the Cuban people under the PCC's leadership are inseparably linked with your activity. We know that important steps are being taken in your country, just as they are in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, to upgrade socialism to a new and qualitatively higher level, so that it can more fully demonstrate its advantages and potentials in the interest of a continually better and materially and culturally richer life of the people. We are inspired in these efforts by stimuli from the revolutionary policy of economic and social restructuring being implemented by the CPSU and by the experiences of other fraternal countries. This is a major struggle, one that is inseparably linked with strengthening the positions and the prestige of socialism on the international scale. It also places new and higher demands on the further development of cooperation between our parties and countries and on cooperation within the framework of the socialist community at large.

Dear Comrade Castro, I sincerely congratulate you on the bestowal of the highest Czechoslovak state award. I wholeheartedly wish you good health, personal contentment, and many new successes in your further responsible work at the head of the PCC and the Cuban state for the well-being and happiness of the Cuban people and for socialism and peace.

In his reply, Fidel Castro said that he greatly appreciates the fact that a delegation led by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee has come from the CSSR to attend the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. Many high-level delegations have come, but we particularly value Comrade Jakes' presence. Added to this is the fact that I am being presented with an order that was awarded to me on the occasion of my 60th birthday, Fidel Castro said.

I admit, the Cuban representative went on to say, that the fact that the revolution is 30 years old has made a profound impression on us. It seems to us that it occurred only yesterday. Hence, our main discovery during this anniversary is that we have lost the sense of time. Another discovery is that we must work much more, and more efficiently, so that every year is worth 3 years. I believe that we are capable of accomplishing this. Thereby, I am also expressing our optimism, in defiance of difficulties, of which we have many. Therefore, the reward for our 30 years of work is even more assiduous work. We are trying to work more and more efficiently, to improve socialism, and to put our resources to the best possible use.

In conclusion, I would like to express great satisfaction at the fact that this order is being presented to me precisely now, as we recall the 30th anniversary of the victory of the revolution. Although personal anniversaries mean much to people, anniversaries of revolutions are infinitely more important. Czechoslovakia was one of the first socialist countries with which we established relations after the revolution and from which we received valuable assistance at difficult times, for which I convey thanks to the CPCZ and the CSSR Government and people. Throughout the 30 years, our mutual relations have been developing and there is a high degree of understanding between the two countries. I trust that today's symbolic act is a forerunner of the further development of friendship and cooperation between Cuba and Czechoslovakia in the coming years. I would like to express thanks to your party, government, and, in particular, to the Czechoslovak people for this high distinction.

Fidel Castro then gave a festive lunch in Milos Jakes' honor.

The same day, Comrade M. Jakes and his entourage laid a wreath at the foot of the monument of Cuban national hero Jose Marti at Havana's Revolution Square.

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, met on 5 January with Jorge Lezcano, first secretary of the Havana PCC Provincial Committee. The two representatives discussed cooperation between the two capitals and the plans for their further development.

On 6 January, Comrade M. Jakes and the other Czechoslovak representatives will depart for an official friendly visit to Nicaragua at the invitation of the Executive Commission of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

More on Talks With Castro

AU1001141289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 89 p 7

[Report by special correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek and CTK: "On CSSR-Cuban Cooperation"]

[Text] As we reported earlier, Comrade Milos Jakes met with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in Havana's Palace of the Revolution on Thursday [5 January] night, central European time.

In a cordial and comradely talk, the two representatives briefed each other on socialist construction in their countries and on their respective party's course of action in implementing the tasks laid down by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Third PCC congress. Fidel Castro spoke about the process of rectifying mistakes and errors that is under way in the Republic of Cuba. Milos Jakes explained the objectives of the restructuring of society and the steps being taken to introduce economic reform and deepen the democratization of social life in the CSSR.

The two sides expressed their views on the processes taking place in the socialist world and assessed them from various perspectives and approaches. Each country proceeds from its own conditions, but all share the same goal. All measures must be aimed at strengthening the positions of socialism on the national and international scale, at developing its advantages, and at ensuring peace and cooperation in the world.

While reviewing Czechoslovak-Cuban relations, Milos Jakes and Fidel Castro noted with satisfaction that they are developing successfully in all fields. They pointed out the broad range of mutual political contacts and stressed the need to continually enhance interaction between the CPCZ and the PCC, and to enrich and activate relations between the two parties at all levels.

The state of Czechoslovak-Cuban economic and scientific-technical cooperation was assessed during the talk. The experiences acquired and the results achieved create conditions for the utilization of new and higher forms of economic cooperation. The two sides agreed on the need to select areas in which it is possible, in the long run, to develop production sharing and direct links between enterprises.

In this context, the role of CEMA was also stressed during the talk. The opinion was expressed that it is necessary to implement more speedily the resolutions that have been adopted with regard to restructuring the mechanism of socialist economic integration and the council's activity.

The talks showed that there exists considerable potential for the further expansion of bilateral relations between Czechoslovakia and Cuba in all fields. The need was stressed to continue to increase the efficiency of cooperation between parliaments, state and social bodies, and organizations, as well as in science, culture, education, and other sectors. The importance of tourism for strengthening the friendship between the two countries was noted, and the need to expand it was pointed out.

The exchange of views on the most important international issues confirmed the identity of views concerning the assessment of the situation in the world. The two representatives pointed out the need to develop the collective responsibility of the world community for peace. They expressed the two countries' profound interest in and their resolve to actively contribute toward detente in the world, the irreversibility of the disarmament process, greater stability, and the development of cooperation between states with different social systems. They denounced the attempts of militaristic circles, which have not abandoned the dangerous myth about nuclear weapons being a guarantee of security.

Milos Jakes explained the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

He voiced great appreciation for the part played by Cuba's foreign policy in solving the problems of developing countries, for its internationalist aid, and for its contribution toward the settlement of the conflict in southern Africa, the settlement of other regional conflicts, and toward strengthening world peace. He emphasized the activity of the Republic of Cuba in the Nonaligned Movement.

The two party representatives called for the further strengthening of the international communist and workers movement and its unity of action in the interest of peace and social progress in the world.

In the talk, Comrade Milos Jakes recalled an invitation for Comrade Fidel Castro to visit the CSSR.

On the Czechoslovak side, the talk was attended by Miroslav Stepan, Frantisek Hanus, Michal Stefanak, Karel Julis, and Miroslav Toman.

On the Cuban side, it was attended by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Pedro Miret Prieto, Jorge Risquet Valdes, Jaime Crombet, Joel Domenech, and Jorge Lezcano.

Arrives in Managua

AU1001153589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 89 pp 1, 7

[Report by special correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek and CTK: "Comrade Milos Jakes Greeted in Managua"]

[Excerpts] Havana/Managua— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left Havana for Managua on Friday [6 January]. He had been invited to pay an official friendly visit to Nicaragua by the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). Daniel Ortega, the highest Nicaraguan representative, coordinator of the FSLN National Directorate and president of the republic, cordially welcomed the rare guest. The welcoming ceremony was also attended by other leading Nicaraguan officials.

Comrade M. Jakes is accompanied on his 2-day visit to Nicaragua by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee; Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and other party and state representatives. They were joined in Managua by Zdenek Dlesk, CSSR ambassador to Nicaragua.

In a short address at the airport, Daniel Ortega spoke with appreciation about Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people and about the steadily deepening ties of friendship between the two countries.

Milos Jakes expressed thanks for the cordial welcome on the soil of heroic Nicaragua. We have come, he said, to express solidarity with the struggle of your people, to discuss the further development of friendly relations, and to exchange views on current international issues. I greet the Nicaraguan people and wish them much success in their struggle.

The same day, Milos Jakes, together with his entourage, laid a bouquet at the mausoleum of national hero and FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador.

Accompanied by Daniel Ortega and other members of the FSLN National Directorate, Milos Jakes and members of his entourage then left for a tour of the July Victory sugar growing and processing complex and the Las Canoas dam, some 70 km from Managua. As Humberto Cuodra, director of the sugar refinery, told M. Jakes, the whole complex takes up an area of 21,000 hectares, 15,000 hectares of which are planted with sugar cane. [passage omitted] The technology used and the irrigation system make it one of the most modern complexes of its kind in Latin America.

Comrade Milos Jakes also visited the Las Canoas dam. The reservoir holds 150 million cubic meters of water, which is used to irrigate sugar cane plantations.

This sugar growing and processing complex was also the venue of the first working talks between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Daniel Ortega.

Both sides ascribe exceptional importance to the visit of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, expecting it to contribute toward a further intensification of cooperation. It is the highest-level Czechoslovak delegation in history to visit Nicaragua. At a time when Nicaragua is warding off an insidious aggression, financed and spread by the United States, the arrival of a major representative of a friendly country is a confirmation of Czechoslovak solidarity with and unequivocal political support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

Addresses Managua Rally 7 Jan

AU1101112089 Prague RUDE PAVO in Czech 9 Jan 89 p 6

["Speech" by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at a rally of representatives of the Nicaraguan public in the Olof Palme Congress Palace in Managua on 7 January]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Ortega, esteemed Comrades, dear friends; I want to thank the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) from the bottom of my heart for the invitation to pay a visit to your beautiful country and for the warm reception extended to our delegation. I sincerely thank the FSLN National Directorate, the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua, and you personally for the great honor of my being awarded the highest Nicaraguan decoration—the Order of Augusto Cesar Sandino.

I have profound esteem for this high decoration, which bears the name of the loyal son of the Nicaraguan people, a courageous fighter for their social and national liberation, for social progress. This year will mark 55 years since he was treacherously murdered. The noble ideas and ideals to which he dedicated his life are being developed by the FSLN and the Nicaraguan people in their present-day revolutionary endeavor, aimed at developing their country and establishing just and peaceful relations among states.

I accept this decoration as the appreciation of the work of the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people for socialism, as they share in the joint struggle to avert the threat of war and to maintain peace.

We are pleased to have the opportunity to meet with you, the representatives of your people, citizens of the heroic city of Managua, which has become imprinted in the memories of friends of the Nicaraguan revolution, in the memory of the struggle for a just world.

We know that it was precisely here that the forces which led your revolution to victory became united.

I am convinced that, despite the great difficulties which you have to overcome today, the day will come when honest people of independent Nicaragua will be able to devote themselves to peaceful, constructive work in developing their revolutionary achievements. In the struggle to realize these noble goals against armed counterrevolution and the extortionist policy of world imperialism, you can count on the support and international solidarity of Socialist Czechoslovakia. I take this opportunity to convey to you sincere, combat greetings from the Czechoslovak working people, and I express thanks on their behalf for the warm words which were spoken here about our fatherland.

We highly value the policy of the Nicaraguan Government that is oriented toward consolidating the democratic achievements of the Sandinist revolution and its efforts to ensure free life, and the human and civic rights of the people, who have chosen their own independent path of development.

We value the principled and constructive policy of Nicaragua in international relations, in the implementation of which it closely cooperates with the Contadora Group, consistently implements the agreements adopted in the Guatemala documents, conducts constructive talks with the opposition forces, and is always prepared—in the interest of a peaceful solution of the situation—to resume direct talks with the United States.

Czechoslovakia will continue to support all efforts and initiatives aimed at a peaceful and just settlement of the situation in the Central American region, and will make use of all international forums to resolve it by political means. In this connection we highly value the Sandinist government's flexible and politically farsighted approach to the latest developments in the region.

Czechoslovakia is a small state in central Europe and its population has a great sense of justice. Our history has never been driven forward by the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, but by simple people, its best sons and daughters. Our history is the gift of destiny, it is the history of people's creative work.

In its 1,000-year history our fatherland has survived periods of freedom, of development, but also of oppression and sadness. Our nations emerged from all these historical tests steeled and unbroken; with honest work they were able to bring their country to a new flourishing. Also today, in the effort for a further all-round development of our socialist society, we are linking up with the progressive legacy of our history, with the results of the skills and hard work of the preceding generations. In this we rely on the time-tested friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Last year we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the founding of the independent republic and the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution. The two historical events were the results of the will of the people, their natural aspiration to be heard and to administer their state independently, to be the creators of their future. I am stressing these facts in order to clearly show how strongly we feel about the inalienable right of every nation to implement its own idea of happiness.

Today, when our all-around mutual relations have further expanded and strengthened, we seek and are discovering forms of cooperation which are useful to both your people and ours. To date, our talks with Comrade Ortega and other prominent FSLN and Nicaraguan state representatives have also been held in this spirit. We have arrived at the unequivocal conclusion that comprehensive Czechoslovak-Nicaraguan cooperation must be perfected, that it must receive even greater dynamism, and the effectiveness of its contribution to the solution of issues concerning the economic development of your country must be enhanced. However, permanent good results can only be achieved through daily conscientious work. You know this, you who 10 years ago embarked on the path of revolution. We, who already have 40 years of experience with our country's socialist development, we know it, too.

In the interest of its further socialist development, we have embarked on the path of restructuring the economy and the entire society by means of democratizing all spheres of social life. We are eliminating accumulated problems and shortcomings, seeking new solutions and ways to perfect socialism, and implement in it the achievements of scientific-technical revolution and the most modern forms of managing the economic and social processes.

The purpose of our endeavor is to further enhance the people's standard of living. This can only be achieved through joint work, the broad development of initiative and the creativity of the working people. The overwhelming majority of our citizens welcome and support restructuring. They are willing to take an active part in its realization. The example of the CPSU, which was the first to begin implementing social changes, is a great inspiration for us; we follow a similar path and identical objectives.

Our party's and state's foreign policy supports everything that serves the cause of peace, strengthens international security, expands cooperation, and increases understanding among states and nations. We fully stand behind the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union that were submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev in the United Nations. Together with the other member states of the Warsaw Pact defensive alliance we actively strive to develop the disarmament process and create conditions for solving the other key problems of mankind. We are in favor of the world becoming more secure, of the necessity to halt the feverish arms buildup and going over to disarmament, and of establishing a new international economic order. We vehemently condemn the continuation of the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the interference in the internal affairs of Panama and other Latin American counties, and the threat to sovereign Cuba.

Europe, in the center of which our country is located, was the focus of the blazes of war and a cemetery for millions of people, the scene of feverish arms buildup and cold war. When we embarked on the path of socialism and progress 40 years ago, subversionaries recruited by imperialism were also infiltrating our country. They were murdering party functionaries, representatives elected by the people, as well as normal citizens. All that, however, could not and did not stop our efforts to build socialism.

We know that Nicaragua also paid a tax in blood for its independence. Preserving this independence has claimed more victims in the past 10 years than the struggle for the independence itself. All the more do we value each step which brings your fatherland closer to the desired peace.

We realize very well that it is not easy to live in the complex reality of present-day Central America under pressure from the United States and preserve one's identity. All the more do we value your unbroken will to solve existing problems through negotiations and understanding, which Comrade Ortega expressed as follows: "Our foreign policy is the policy of a nation which experienced a bloody war. It is the policy of disarmament and peace."

Dear Comrade Ortega, dear Nicaraguan friends, in conclusion, permit me once more to thank you for the great honor accorded to me. I would like to assure you that in the future we will also do everything so that the fraternal relations of friendship, alliance, and cooperation between the CPCZ and the FSLN, between our states, and between the Czechoslovak and the Nicaraguan people become further comprehensively developed and strengthened. I wish the FSLN, the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua, and all Nicaraguan people much success in the revolutionary struggle to build a socially just society.

I assure you that our country, the fatherland of Klement Gottwald and Julius Fucik, is in full solidarity with your struggle and your aspirations.

Long live free Nicaragua!

May the friendship between the Czechoslovak and the Nicaraguan people flourish!

Returns Home

AU1101122689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK and RUDE PRAVO correspondents Bohuslav Borovicka and Miloslav Vitek report: "Milos Jakes Returned From a Visit to Cuba and Nicaragua; Journey of Friendship and Solidarity"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, returned home from an official friendly visit to the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of Nicaragua on Sunday [8 January] afternoon. At Ruzyne Airport in Prague, Milos Jakes and his entourage were welcomed by Comrades Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Josef Haman, Jaroslav Hajn, Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Jindrich Polednik, and other representatives of political and public life.

Ambassadors of the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of Nicaragua, Mario Rodriguez Martinez and Bayardo Altamirano Lopez, were present.

Further Reportage of Visit

For Managua coverage of the visit by Milos Jakes to Nicaragua, including his speech at a ceremony to accept the Augusto Cesar Sandino Order from the Nicaraguan Government, see the Nicaraguan section of the 11 January Latin America DAILY REPORT.

Urbanek Departs for DKP Congress

AU1001155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 89 p 6

[Miroslav Kubin Frankfurt/Main dispatch]

[Text] A CPCZ delegation led by Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, arrived in the FRG on Thursday [5 January] to attend the Ninth DKP Congress. In Prague, the delegation was seen off by Comrade Jozef Lenart.

Presents CPCZ Message

AU1001155889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jan 89 pp 1,5

[CTK correspondent's report: "Rich Revolutionary and Combat Traditions; The Ninth DPK Congress Opened at Frankfurt/Main"]

[Excerpts] Frankfurt/Main—The Ninth DKP Congress opened in Frankfurt/Main yesterday. It is being attended by almost 800 delegates from all over the FRG and by 52 foreign delegations. The CPCZ delegation is led by Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. [passage omitted]

Karel Urbanek presented a message of greetings to the Ninth DKP Congress, which states, among other things:

Esteemed comrades,

allow me to greet your congress in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Milos Jakes, personally and, at the same time, to congratulate you on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany.

We in the CSSR hold in high regard the DKP's stands and its fidelity to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in its search for conclusions to the strategy of our movement in the current revolutionary stage of world developments. We value the existence of an atmosphere of complete trust and mutual understanding between our parties. We feel the need to further strengthen and deepen these relations.

Although the CPCZ and the DKP tackle different tasks, they share common ideas. We believe in the working man, in his strength, and in the fulfillment of his just aspirations in the future. We want to make every conceivable effort for him to live in genuine freedom and democracy and to be the master of his fate. We believe in peace because we believe in the future of mankind, in its ability to avert the dangers to which it is exposed. At the same time we realize that we must not yield to any illusions or relax our vigilance toward imperialism. We see our cardinal task in the struggle for peace, for the prevention of nuclear war, and for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. This is why we fully support and welcome the new Soviet initiatives put forward by Comrade Gorbachev at the UN and are determined to contribute with all our might to enforcing them. We are of the opinion that, from this viewpoint, the initiative of Comrade Jakes to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and Nato states has lost none of its relevance. The invitation extended by Comrade Adamec, our federal premier, to the heads of government of neighboring countries in order to discuss and jointly tackle exceptionally urgent ecological issues also surely deserves attention. [passage omitted]

CPCZ Delegation Received by Cambodia's Heng

AU1001201789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 89 p 7

[Pavel Kryl dispatch: "10th Anniversary of Cambodia's Liberation Celebrated"]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh— A festive rally, attended by top PRK party and state representatives, by the Cambodian general public, and by foreign guests from 15 countries, was held in Phnom Penh on Friday [6 January] on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the country's liberation. The main speech at the rally was delivered by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP]. The Czechoslovak party and government delegation to the celebrations is led by Stefan Murin, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR. [passage omitted]

Reception of Czechoslovak Delegation

The Czechoslovak delegation was received by Heng Samrin on Friday. In a cordial and friendly talk he appraised the development of relations between our two countries and expressed thanks for the Czechoslovak assistance to the Cambodian people. He wished the Czechoslovak restructuring process full success, and expressed the view that it is creating greater scope for a further comprehensive development of CSSR-PRK cooperation.

Support Affirmed for Elimination of Chemical Arms

AU1101075689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government on Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] Prague— In connection with the upcoming conference on the banning of chemical weapons, which will begin in Paris on Saturday 7 January, the CSSR Government issued a statement on issues concerning the banning and scrapping of chemical weapons:

The CSSR is convinced that the attainment of a worldwide ban on and the scrapping of chemical weapons is one of the fundamental prerequisites for the disarmament process and is in the vital interest of all countries and nations of the world. The banning and scrapping of chemical weapons would consolidate security in general, reduce the risk of a military conflict, and make it easier to develop relations on real foundations of equal interests. In contrast, the existence of chemical weapons and the perfecting of these weapons create a direct danger to the stability and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

In this connection, the fact that the long-standing efforts of the UN and the Geneva disarmament conference aimed at concluding a treaty on banning and destroying chemical weapons have not as yet led to the desired result gives rise to concern.

In view of the particular danger which stockpiling, stationing, and using chemical weapons, including binary weapons, in Europe would constitute, the CSSR is determined to continue to strive for the realization of the proposal to establish a zone without chemical weapons in Europe, which—together with the GDR Government—it had submitted to the FRG Government. In this, the CSSR proceeds from the unity and the mutually supportive nature of regional and global approaches to limiting the arms buildup and to disarmament, and from the fact that progress in disarmament is closely connected with positive developments in all spheres of international relations.

Also abiding by this is the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states, an initiative submitted by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in February 1988.

Reacting to the statement of the CPCZ, the SED, and the SPD, the CSSR Government is prepared to begin immediate negotiations on the removal or nondeployment of chemical weapons in central Europe, including the implementation of appropriate verification measures. The realization of such negotiations would, at the same time, constitute the necessary impetus for accelerating progress on the road to a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

We regard the conclusion of a treaty on the total and universal banning of chemical weapons and the scrapping of their stockpiles as being one of the priority tasks in the sphere of disarmament, as was determined at the latest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states, held in Warsaw in July 1988. In this connection, one is also encouraged by some of the positive results achieved when discussing problems connected with banning chemical weapons at the 43d UN General Assembly session, particularly the unanimous support for the elaboration of the appropriate treaty by the UN member countries.

In this sphere, an important activity will be the upcoming conference of states that are participants in the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous, or other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, but also of other interested states. Guided by the effort to create favorable conditions for attaining the treaty on the total banning and scrapping of chemical weapons, the CSSR Government declares the following:

1. The CSSR does not possess, manufacture, or stockpile chemical weapons on its territory. In the CSSR there are no facilities for the development and manufacture of chemical weapons. The research and laboratory work done in the CSSR is absolutely and exclusively oriented toward the purpose of protection against the effects of chemical weapons and for peaceful purposes.

2. The CSSR attaches great importance to the elaboration of adequate measures for the systematic control of the chemical industry which would ensure in an absolutely reliable way that chemical weapons are not manufactured, and it supports the efforts of the Geneva Disarmament Conference to resolve these issues. In this connection, the CSSR is prepared to take part in an experimental verification of agreed control procedures.

3. In the context of a multilateral exchange of data connected with preparing the treaty on banning and destroying chemical weapons, the CSSR will be prepared to provide, at the appropriate stage, all information on civilian facilities, including enterprises, laboratories, and scientific institutes, that manufacture substances subject to control within the framework of that treaty.

4. The CSSR has worked out legal measures that limit exports of some dangerous chemical substances with a dual application with the aim of preventing their misuse for the manufacture of chemical weapons.

5. The CSSR is prepared to become the initial participant in the treaty on banning and destroying chemical weapons as soon as its preparation at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva is concluded.

The CSSR believes that all states will take constructive steps toward an accelerated solution of the urgent problem of banning and destroying chemical weapons, and the issues connected with this.

Ecology Initiative Welcomed by Countries

Praised by Austria's Vranitzky

AU0901155489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Dec 88 p 1

[Report by Jozef Janto, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent in Vienna: "Austria Welcomes Latest Czechoslovak Initiative; Urgent Task of the Present"]

[Text] As is known, at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session held last week, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec said, among other things, that he will invite the premiers of all neighboring countries to Prague to assess together the possibility of cooperating in the ecologial sphere. In this connection, together with the Vienna CTK correspondent, we asked Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to take a stand on this Czechoslovak initiative. Chancellor F. Vranitzky welcomed the CSSR premier's proposal and said:

"For years Austria has been pursuing the objective of cooperating with our neighboring states in the sphere of environmental protection, especially in regard to cross-border problems, as well as the conclusion of contracts in that respect. We all know that acid rain, polluted air, and radiation do not stop at state borders. Therefore, I consider the closest possible and most intensive international cooperation in all issues of environmental protection to be the most important and most urgent task of the present."

"Therefore, I welcome Premier Ladislav Adamec's initiative, although I do not yet know the details of this proposal. It also corresponds to the spirit of cooperation which we want to realize with the help of the CSCE. The initiative will certainly be received very positively in Austria."

Hungary Accepts Invitation

LD1001035489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] The Hungarian People's Republic has accepted Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec's invitation to a meeting of the premiers of countries neighboring Czechoslovakia. The meeting, on ecological issues, is being prepared for the beginning of March 1989. Acceptance of the invitation was announced in Prague today by Hungarian Ambassador Miklos Barity.

Dzerzhinskiy Presented as 'Knight of Revolution'

AU0901144789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 88 p 2

[Jiri Kohout in the "Answering Reader's Question" column: "Knight of Revolution"]

[Text] **"Consider well what you write," was the advice telephoned to us by a reader. He mentioned that on Wednesday [20 December] we reported the unveiling of a statue of Feliks Dzerzhinskiy in Prague, and that he asked himself whether the time had not come to reassess our attitude toward that personality.**

How are we to reply to this reader? Perhaps like this: There is no reason at all to change our attitude toward Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy. As is known, Dzerzhinskiy, at Lenin's behest, was put in charge of the All-Russian Special Commission for Combating Counterrevolution (Cheka), which was founded in December 1917 as the answer to the terrorist attacks on the young Soviet state by the enemies of the revolution. Dzerzhinskiy remained to his last day (he died in 1926) as an honorable defender of revolutionary achievements. In 1922 Cheka was reorganized into a Unified State Political Directorate (OGPU).

After a thorough study of the life, documents, and memoirs of Lenin, Krupskaya, and others of the Leninist guard, one can ascertain that the nickname "knight of the revolution," as he was called, was not invented only later, that Dzerzhinskiy's activity was really the implementation of his personal slogan —**Cool brain, ardent heart, and absolutely clean hands.**

These, too, are the reasons—as we have reported—why his statue by National Artist Jan Hana was unveiled on Tuesday [20 December] in the area of the Advanced School of the National Security Corps in Prague on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of Cheka's founding.

Today, Soviet historians are thoroughly scrutinizing many aspects of the history of the revolution and the construction of socialism; archives are being opened, the mosaic of historical facts is being assembled, relations among the participants of historical events and portraits of individual personalities are being put together. It is obvious that we will obtain a more plastic and more colorful historical picture, but it will not be a different picture—the picture invented by bourgeois journalists and historians for their own ends.

The reader's question elicits another question: Why, all of a sudden, does he want to see everything differently in Soviet revolutionary history, everything in black? He does not wait for facts; he invents them in advance! This has nothing to do with the flow of information to the public—this is cynicism and, perhaps, even the intention to inflict harm by slander where facts say different things.

There are even people who do not hide their intention to slander and harm. Their mouths and pens spread stories about the reassessment of what has already been reassessed, about the disintegration of the revolution's historical legacy. It is also possible that our reader has read or heard some of these stories. It is possible that it is only he himself who is panicking.

It is possible that agitators and slanderers have got a second wind and that they are riding the crest of the wave of interest in history. They can sow the seed of doubt, they can cast a shadow on things, but they will never be able to recast the true values of the revolution.

KATHPRESS Report on Bishop Attacked

AU0901153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Dec 88 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar article in the "Notes" column: "Convincing Answer"]

[Text] A few days ago the Austrian press agency, KATHPRESS, invoking "Slovak church circles," spread a report that Slovak Bishop Dr Jozef Feranec of Banska Bystrica had returned the Order of the Republic awarded to him for loyal services to the people.

On Wednesday [21 December] the Czechoslovak Radio's Banska Bystrica editorial office asked Bishop Feranec directly about the truthfulness of the broadcast report, which was, by the way, also spread by the Austrian APA press agency and some Western radios. Understandably, the report was not true.

"I was greatly affected by it," Dr Feranec said. "Particularly because it has happened now at Christmas, which is a festival of joy, peace, and mutual understanding. It is not desirable for a mood of anger and untruth to be brought into public life. I believe that we seek what unites us and not what divides us. We are striving to solve all existing problems in an appropriate manner—by dialogue. I am really glad to have the opportunity before these Christmas holidays to say in the spirit of peace and conciliation, and I repeat it, that I am hurt by the methods and ways which are being employed against our society and against the church and church dignitaries."

"These forces, which are driving a wedge between the church and the state," Bishop Feranec said further, "are not sufficiently aware of our relations between the church and the state. In our state we live and work in peace, and the church and the state seek ways, through dialogue, to smooth everything that has in some cases become a problem. And I believe that much has improved recently, whether it be religious instruction, the admission of students of divinity, press publications, and so forth. This should convince those who are insufficiently aware of relations between church and state. Our endeavor has had satisfactory results."

In conclusion, the Bishop of Banska Bystrica made use of the radio, and on the occasion of the Christmas holidays told our citizens: "Every well-meaning person who has experienced Christmas at least several times knows that this is the festival of joy, peace, and mutual understanding. Can we wish for anything better, can there be anything more beautiful than that these are holidays to celebrate a child? After all, these holidays are, above all, for children; thus, they are family holidays as well. And the family, as a cell of social life, experiences at one table what people throughout the world wish for: to be able to spend them celebrating a child in joy, sincerity, understanding, mutual forgiveness, and in genuine internal and external joy."

The purpose of the aforementioned KATHPRESS report, as has been the case several times before, was to drive a wedge between believing citizens and the state, to slander the church policy of our state. This time as well, the initators of this maliciousness were caught redhanded. Bishop Feranec gave them a convincing answer.

Palach Commemoration Meeting Banned

LD1101202889 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] An event took place in Prague 20 years ago which can only be called a tragic gamble. Student Jan Palach attempted a demonstrative suicide by burning himself alive. There are indications that this year some groups want to repeat a similar gamble. Tomorrow's RUDE PRAVO carries an article on this subject from which we quote:

The article, entitled "It Was a Gamble," says among other things: 20 years ago, in January 1969, our society was in a chaotic state, and the antisocialist forces attempted, at whatever cost, to reverse the inevitable course of events. They looked as if they were about to face absolute political defeat—that is why they were ready to undertake any kind of gamble. The previous session of the CPCZ Central Committee in November 1968 made it possible for the Marxist forces to build adam against further antisocialist development and to unite in a principled course, which most of society, exhausted by permanent crisis, welcomed. This was evident judging by the labor activity, the decline in social turmoil, and in public reactions. This situation did not suit the leaders of the antisocialist and counter revolutionary forces. That is why in an attempt to retain at least some ground, they started to organize various activities to exert political pressure. Various illegal organizations started to appear. Under the influence of appeals in the right-wing press, the members of these groups and other individuals attempted to incite actions to bring people onto the streets, using shock tactics. Some of them, led by the irresponsible hand of provocateurs, were then ready to sacrifice the most precious thing—their lives.

It was during this tense time that an act which shook all society was provoked. Student Jan Palach attempted a demonstrative suicide by burning himself alive. He himself—while the best doctors fought for his life—was sorry for what he had done before he died. But the act had been committed, and it suited the antisocialist forces very well. Much space was devoted to this case in the media at that time.

However, the weak party and state leadership did not have enough strength to oppose these demonstrations. The departure of Alexander Dubcek from his post as first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee proved to be a necessity anyway.

The same forces—often even represented by the same names—are attempting a new provocation 20 years later. As the Western broadcasting stations have been reporting for some time, they want to hold a commemorative meeting in the middle of January in memory of student Palach. These are the same forces which 20 years ago led our country to the brink of a catastrophe and whose fault it was that personal tragedies such as Palach's took place. It is not surprising, therefore, that the appropriate district national committee rejected the request to hold the above-mentioned meeting. There are people, especially from the ranks of the so-called dissidents, who even threaten to repeat the same gambles as 20 years ago. Obviously, they do not realize what a responsibility they are undertaking.

Central Slovak Plants Fail To Save

AU0901153489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Dec 88 p 2

[Stefan Nemeth report: "We Can Ill Afford Waste; When We Lack Consistency"]

[Text] Central Slovakia has so far failed to fulfill the intention formulated by the 17th CPCZ Congress—to cut the average annual consumption of fuel and energy resources by 2.9 percent per unit of the gross domestic product. In 1986 the consumption in the region dropped a mere 1.6 percent, and last year it even remained on the level of the preceding year.

The results of recent analyses of the demands on power consumption in production, carried out in more than 80 enterprises in the region by the Banska Stiavnica branch of the State Energy Inspectorate under the guidance of the Industry Department of the CPSL's Central Slovak Regional Committee, are not optimistic, either: In the recent period, 22 of the 73 industrial enterprises and two of the eight construction organizations inspected have increased their energy consumption.

The situation is due to many things. Whereas in some organizations it emerged after a new type of production had been introduced or after the range of products changed, in the **KOVOSMALT plant in Filakovo** the inspection found that the unjustified increase of energy consumption was due to **the management's lack of a concept; the neglect of proper care for power engineering issues; and the failure to apply such basic economic tools as rationalization and material incentives.** It is high time for the responsible KOVOSMALT staff (and others, too) to finally realize that we really cannot afford to waste energy.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-23 Dec

AU1001181889 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 and 24 December reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (date and page number in parentheses):

The session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, held on 22 December, was attended and addressed by Miroslav Stepan and Jozef Lenart. They also visited the CKD engineering works in Prague the same day. (23 Dec 88 p 2)

Milos Jakes, with Jan Fojtik attending, presented the Order of Klement Gottwald to National Artist Jan Seidl on the occasion of the latter's 80th birthday, in Prague on 23 December. (24 Dec 88 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ CC Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, visited the construction site of a subway tunnel in Prague on 22 December. (23 Dec 88 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, was in attendance when Kuwaiti ambassador al-Musa al-Sayyis Musa Sulayman presented his credentials to CSSR president Gustav Husak in Prague on 22 December. (23 Dec 88 p 1)

Results of Paris CW Conference Welcomed

LD1201135389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1147 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry, released the following communique on the conclusion of the conference on banning chemical weapons which took place in Paris at the initiative of French President Francois Mitterrand: The GDR welcomes the results of the Paris conference. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, stressed that they give "new impetus to the negotiations on a convention for the proscription of chemical weapons which extend via the geneva protocol of 1925.

The unanimous realization rooted in the final announcement of the participating states on the speedy conclusion of the convention and the affirmation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 documents the international concensus to ban this scourge of humanity from military arsenals and thus exclude the use of chemical weapons for all time.

The GDR considers the announcement by the USSR to the effect that it will begin this year to unilaterally destroy its stocks of chemical weapons as a renewed important prior concession for the speedy continuation of negotiations at the Geneva disarmament conference. A constructive answer from the other side is required. As far as the GDR is concerned it is prepared to join a convention on the comprehensive banning of chemical weapons immediately after such a conclusion. It possesses no chemical weapons and does not have such weapons belonging to other states stationed on its territory. However, it considers the complete elimination of these weapons to be the most effective way to prevent their spread and their use. According to the GDR, regional steps such as the creation of chemical weapon-free zones has helped to achieve more security in as many regions of the world as possible and to secure a global banning.

Announcements from other states at the conference were optimistic on the nonpossession of chemical weapons and joining the Geneva protocol.

After the Paris conference it is important to have the declared political will followed by practical deeds on solving the still open questions of the convention at the Geneva disarmament conference. The GDR will make its contribution to this. As Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said in Paris, the GDR is calling for the participation of as many states as possible in trust-building measures, such as an international exchange of data and the carrying out of test inspections. Its proposals for a high effectiveness of the convention are on the negotiating table.

The GDR hopes that 1989 will become the year of the final proscription of chemical weapons. The whole process of disarmament would thus be given new dynamism.

In conclusion, the spokesman affirmed that President Mitterrand's initiative proves the special commitment of France as repository of the Geneva protocol of 1925 and underlines the significance of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

Sindermann, Castro Stress Good Relations

AU1001115589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Report by Ruediger Hoplitschek and Rolf Hempel: "Friendly Meeting Between Horst Sindermann and Fidel Castro"]

[Text] Havana—Horst Sindermann, head of the GDR party-state delegation, SED Central Committee Politburo member, deputy State Council chairman, and GDR People's Chamber president, had a friendly meeting in Havana Tuesday night [3 January local time] with Fidel Castro, PCC Central Committee first secretary and Cuban State Council and Council of Ministers chairman. Fidel Castro expressed cordial thanks for the greetings conveyed to him from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and asked him to convey best wishes to his friend and comrade-in-arms.

Horst Sindermann congratulated Fidel Castro on his speech of principle on the 30th anniversary of the revolution victory. He said that the visit to health facilities and to agricultural enterprises had given the GDR delegation a vivid idea of the successful implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Third PCC Congress.

Sindermann said that Cuba's respected place in the world and its profoundly internationalist work are reflected by the participation of leading representatives of more than 100 countries in the revolution anniversary festivities. He said that in the GDR this event is being celebrated with numerous festive functions particularly in enterprises employing Cuban working people.

Fidel Castro expressed his considerable satisfaction with the stable, planned, and mutually advantageous development of bilateral cooperation. He said that Cuba appreciates the GDR's reliable support for building the first socialist state in America.

Horst Sindermann had detailed talks Wednesday [4 January local time] with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, PCC Central Committee Politburo member and State Council and Council of Ministers deputy chairman, on the social development in both countries. They discussed problems of further cooperation between both parties and countries.

Horst Sindermann gave a report on the Seventh SED Central Committee meeting which provided a comprehensive orientation regarding the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress and preparations for the 12th SED Congress. He said that this marks the beginning of a period of high political activity with the goal of effectively mobilizing the people's strength for shaping the developed socialist society, as outlined in the SED program. Strengthening the GDR's economic capacity as a basis for continuing the well-tried course of the unity of economic and social policy is the centerpiece of this program.

He said that the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR will be commemorated with new deeds for the strengthening of socialism. Thus the GDR working people fulfill their internationalist duty at the dividing line between socialism and imperialism.

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez gave a report on the fraternal party's experiences in building socialism in Cuba. He said that the PCC has struck a successful balance of the process that was initiated by the Third PCC Congress and takes into account national and international conditions. In the working people's everyday struggle for high performance in production and science, the prerequisites have been created for ensuring a more stable economic development, he said. The main goal is a clearly higher efficiency of the national economy.

Both interlocutors paid tribute to the close, trusting, and fraternal relations between their parties. They stressed the necessity of expanding them further in all areas and deepening the exchange of experiences further.

Horst Sindermann had a friendly meeting the same day [4 January local time] with Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega. Daniel Ortega expressed the Nicaraguan people's cordial thanks for the rapid and effective aid given by the GDR to the population affected by hurricane "Joan." He said that Erich Honecker's personal contribution to the internationalist support for the Sandinista revolution is highly respected and appreciated. The solidarity and affinity of the GDR working people represent a considerable support for the resolute struggle of new Nicaragua which steadfastly defends its independence and autonomy, he said.

Horst Sindermann paid tribute to Nicaragua's flexible foreign policy actions in bringing about a political settlement in Central America. He expressed the hope that with the forthcoming summit of the region's five presidents, steps for real detente will be taken.

Horst Sindermann stressed that the GDR will continue to side with the brave people of Sandino in close affinity. Taking part in the talks were Guenther Sieber, SED Central Committee member and director of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department, and Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister.

Honecker Interviewed for Belorusfilm on Masherov

AU1201101089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"What impression did Petr Masherov as a man, as a politician, as a statesman leave on you?" was one of the questions that Erich Honecker answered Soviet documentary film-makers of the Minsk Belorusfilm studio on Monday [9 January]. The Belorussian film-makers, author Viktor Dashuk and director Mikhail Zhdanovskiy, had asked the SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman to say a few words about his recollections of the man who for many years was first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for their documentary film on Petr Masherov. The same requests were made to Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro, party-state leaders of Bulgaria and Cuba, who also knew Petr Masherov very well.

Petr Masherov, who visited the GDR several times, was killed in a car accident in 1980.

Honecker New Year Reception for Envoys

LD1101163589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin. On the occasion of the start of the new year Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and the GDR Council of State chairman, received the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR today.

At the beginning of the festive meeting in the headquarters of the Council of State in Berlin Erich Honecker received New Year's greetings from ambassadors, charges d'affaires, and representatives of national liberation movements. The diplomats conveyed greetings and good wishes for 1989 to the GDR head of state from the state and government leaders of their respective countries.

Afterward the doyen of the dipolmatic corps, Dr Faysal Summaq, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic, spoke. The ambassador stated that the year 1988 had made clear and favorable signs for the triumph of reason and of dialogue. In spite of the basis already created, which had been strengthened by the latest proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly, there were, however, still great problems. Their resolutions required the efforts of all peoples and states, because they still burden mankind's conscience and threaten to set back peace and security.

Dr Faysal Summaq acknowledged the GDR's contribution to the consolidation of the policies of dialogue and detente. The personal commitment and the activities of the GDR head of state were regarded with respect and sympathy. "This peaceful policy which you pursue," the ambassador stressed "undoubtedly arises from the will of the GDR people, which under its leadership has made great achievements in its country's development. These are achievements of which the nation can be proud on this, the 40th anniversary of the foundation of its state."

Those GDR representatives attending the reception included Willi Stoph, deputy chairman of the Council of State, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, SED Central Comittee Politburo member and president of the People's Chamber; Egon Krenz and Guenter Mittag, SED Central Committee Politburo members; Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National-Democratic Party of Germany; and Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany; as well as Hermann Axen, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the People's Chamber Committee for Foreign Affairs; Kurt Hager, Werner Krolikowski, and Harry Tisch, Council of State members and SED Central Committee Politburo members; Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Prof Dr Lothat Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front. Also present were Oskar Fischer, minister for foreign affairs, Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State, and other personalities.

During the festive reception, Erich Honecker, the other GDR personalities, and the heads of the diplomatic missions had animated, friendly talks.

Fleet Shipping Figures for CSSR Interests

AU1001172589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The GDR merchant fleet shipped 1.15 million tonnes of goods by regular and tramp service for CSSR partners during the past year. This is 70,000 tonnes more goods exported and imported than was envisaged in the annual agreement between Deutsche Seereederei [German Maritime Shipping Company], Rostock and Cecho Freight, Prague, which have been partners for many years. In addition, the Rostock dockers transshipped 0.75 million tonnes of goods for the CSSR last year.

The CSSR maritime shipping company and international carrier Cecho Freight has had a representation in Rostock since 1962. Its Rostock representative Miloslav Petras stressed that Cecho Freight is the CSSR's only international carrier to offer a comprehensive service to exporters and importers and their partners. He said that its activities are focused on overseas and inland goods transports on ships as well as transports by trucks and planes. Its latest service is a courier service.

SED Central Committee Greets DKP Congress

AU1001180989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee sent the following greetings message to the Ninth DKP Congress beginning in Frankfurt/Main this Friday [6 January]:

Dear Comrades!

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial, fraternal combat greetings from the GDR communists to the delegates to the Ninth Party Congress and to all DKP members.

Your party congress is taking place at a time of favorable change in international politics. The beginning of nuclear disarmament as a result of the treaty on the removal of intermediate-range weapons has paved the way for new far-reaching disarmament steps. A transition from confrontation to disarmament has been initiated. Nonetheless, this process still is not irreversible. Those who are interested in stepped-up armament and in the arms race have intensified their attacks against the continuation of disarmament, against peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

The Warsaw Pact's comprehensive peace program, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's recent far-reaching statement to the 43d UN General Assembly demonstrate the socialist states' work—rich in initiative—for creating a world without nuclear weapons, without wars and violence. What must follow is the conclusion of an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, while the ABM Treaty is strictly observed, the discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests for military purposes, a worldwide ban on chemical weapons and a drastic reduction in conventional forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Thereby the decisive security foundation for a common "European home" would be created. It is important not to permit a break in the disarmament process.

The SED members, the GDR citizens show feelings of affinity and solidarity for the DKP's struggle for the national and social interests of the FRG people. They appreciate your persistent and constructive work against the policy of stepped-up armament and confrontation, for specific contributions by the FRG to disarmament.

You have rendered an indispensable contribution in the struggle for peace, employment, democracy, and social progress. In resolutely defending the working people's political and social rights, by your struggle against mass unemployment and new poverty, for the protection of the natural environment, for the defense and expansion of trade unionist and other democratic rights, you are in agreement with the majority of the citizens in your country. The DKP's slogans have an effect on broad public circles. The adversary must take that into account.

Owing to its proletarian internationalism, its close relationship with the SED, the CPSU, and the other fraternal parties, as well as owing to its active anti-imperialist solidarity, the DKP holds a respected place in the international communist and worker movement.

The GDR considers the preservation and strengthening of peace the most important obligation. In this respect, we act according to the principle, "the stronger socialism is, the more secure peace is!" Relying firmly on the working people's initiative, we are energetically working toward the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress and at the further shaping of the developed socialist society. That is a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and spiritual-cultural change. We can proceed from a comprehensive concept of the overall social development up until the year 2000, the centerpiece of which is the unity of economic and social policy. This Marxist-Leninist course that we have pursued, taking into account conditions in our country, has proved successful in practice. Full employment, social security, the improvement of working and living conditions, the citizens' comprehensive democratic codetermination in the state, in enterprises, and in society are reality. The GDR's 40-year successful development demonstrates that what determines our policy is to do everything for the people's benefit.

We state with considerable satisfaction that the fraternal relations between our parties have developed in Ernst Thaelmann's spirit. They are firmly rooted in the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in the struggles of the German worker class against exploitation, fascism, and war, in the responsibility for the idea that only peace must emanate from German soil, in the historic responsibility and the future interests of the worker class of both German states. In this sense, we will continue to strengthen the fraternal alliance between the SED and the DKP.

With communist greetings
SED Central Committee
E Honecker
General Secretary

Eberlein Addresses 7 Jan DKP Meeting

AU1101191789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Report on speech by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, at a DKP meeting in Gersfeld-Hettenhausen in Hesse on 7 January: "Werner Eberlein Addresses DKP Meeting"]

[Text] Gersfeld-Hettenhausen (ND/ADN)—At a meeting in Gersfeld-Hettenhausen in Hesse, Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met with DKP members on Saturday [7 January]. During the meeting, under the motto of "Real Existing Socialism—Present and Perspective," the guest from the GDR reported on the implementation of the tasks resolved by the 11th SED Congress to shape the developed socialist society.

On the basis of the SED program, Werner Eberlein explained the development of the German worker-peasant state as a historical process of profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. BCP representatives, deputies, members of the Greens and the Social Democrats, and trade unionists took part in the meeting which took place as part of encounters with foreign guests of the Ninth DKP Congress.

Forty Years of GDR—a Life Worth Living for All

At the beginning of the lively discussion that lasted several hours, Werner Eberlein defined the GDR's policy in a declaration. It is an established fact that real existing socialism on German soil is celebrating an anniversary this year—its 40th anniversary. Thus—as one says—it is aging, although its declared opponents in this country gave it only days, at the most some months, and in 4 decades have done everything to prevent any socialist development in our country. Quoting Karl Liebknecht, I want to say here: In spite of all that. In spite of all that, the GDR has developed in a dynamic and stable way. The GDR and its leading force, the SED, can point out that, over time, they have drawn lessons from the path they have covered and have answered the questions about the strategy for mastering the new tasks. Completely in accordance with the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we consider it our task to develop socialism, on its own basis, into a unified social organism. This includes continuity, as well as the continuous search for new solutions. As is known, there is no unemployment in the GDR, he stated. New poverty and drug crime are unknown. Although it was not easy for us, the stability of rents, tariffs, and prices of basic goods has also been ensured in this decade. Since the early seventies, at least every second citizen has moved into a comfortable new apartment. Rents continue to be affordable for every income group and amount to approximately 3 percent of the family income. Homelessness is an unknown concept.

Starting Point: The People's Needs

Free medical care and comprehensive education are guaranteed to everybody. The basic demand form the KPD's first party platform—a life worth living for all—is being consistently implemented.

Of course, the GDR is no island of bliss that evades problems and difficulties, Werner Eberlein said. We know our shortcomings and the still existing contradictions, and we work purposefully to overcome them. Here the people's needs and meeting them in an increasingly better way are the starting point for all considerations and decisions.

Today, and even more so tomorrow, the standard for socialism is and will be the way in which it copes with the challenges of the scientific-technological revolution, in which it uses the great opportunities of the new technologies in the people's interest and not at their expense.

The SED has proved—increasingly since the seventies—to be a party of reform and of social changes, Werner Eberlein said.

We do not need a new model of socialism according to the so-called free or social market economy to make the reduction in or even the abandonment of socialist achievements palatable, Werner Eberlein stated. The reproach directed against a policy of subsidies ordered by the state, which is allegedly contradictory to the market economy, does not apply to us. The FRG pays considerably higher subsidies, not only in absolute terms, but also in terms of percentage, among them billions for the Airbus and the Kloeckner Group, for shipbuilding and coal, and, above all, for an abortive agricultural policy which leads to the ruin of more and more farmers. The main difference is that in the capitalist FRG subsidies are granted to corporations and large farmers, and in the socialist GDR rents, tariffs, and prices are subsidized for the workers' benefit.

With an eye to the year 2000, the GDR, Werner Eberlein stressed, has connected the advantages of socialism even more efficiently with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, and scientific-technological progress with social progress.

Democracy in Front of and Behind the Factory Gate

Good foundations are laid for this by developing efficient combines, increasingly turning to high technologies, increasingly using microelectronics, and further qualifying the planned economy, in which all basic economic processes remain firmly in the hands of the socialist state and, at the same time, the independence of the combines and enterprises and the self-management of the cooperatives are strengthened.

Here the GDR is relying on even closer cooperation with the CEMA countries, especially the Soviet Union, its most important economic partner, to which it also owes the safeguarding of its raw material basis.

The revolutionary changes in production are necessarily connected with profound changes in all other social fields. No technological change, no rationalization is possible without the democratic participation and control of the working people involved. In our understanding, socialism, Werner Eberlein stressed, always means: socialist democracy in all social fields, that is, in front of and behind the factory gate. Today there are various structures and opportunities for it, which are developed to become even more effective.

The GDR always proceeds from the basic knowledge that today peace is the only possible condition for life, Werner Eberlein said.

In a society like socialism, where production exclusively serves the people's welfare, the arms race and war mean the greatest loss, peace and disarmament mean the greatest profit. Therefore, the initiative presented by Mikhail Gorbachev to the United Nations has the full mandate of the GDR communists.

Subsequently, Werner Eberlein answered numerous questions that reflected the great interest in the GDR's real socialism. The topics covered the current problems of the GDR's domestic and foreign policy, above all economic and social policy, microelectronics, housing construction, environmental protection, and equal rights for women.

Where the DKP Received 35 Percent of the Votes

At the beginning of the meeting, Fulda District DKP Chairman Alfred Grauel reported on his party's work and successes in the North Hessian region. In the Gersfeld Municipal Council, the DKP is represented by four deputies and achieved 12 percent of the votes. In Hettenhausen, which is incorporated in Gersfeld, the DKP attained 35 percent of the votes. Hettenhausen has a long progressive tradition. According to the district chairman, the foundations for the KPD's first agricultural program were laid there.

The DKP's successes are especially due to the fact that the party also represents the interests of the majority of the population in its parliamentary work. The Communists are especially active in the peace movement, even more so because the region, with the Wildflecken training area close by, is one area of the FRG with the strongest military presence.

Honecker Congratulates DKP Chairman Mies

AU1101210189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Congratulations to DKP Chairman Herbert Mies; Greetings Message From Erich Honecker on Reelection"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed the following greetings message to DKP Chairman Herbert Mies on his reelection:

Dear Comrade Herbert Mies,
On behalf of the SED Central Committee, I convey to you most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on your reelection as DKP chairman.

The GDR Communists are convinced that the DKP will continue to strive consistently for the implementation of the working people's interests, for peace, work, democracy, and social progress. In accordance with this, we continue to stand at your side, firmly and in solidarity.

With socialist greetings,
E. Honecker

Axen Holds Talks With Chairman Mies

AU1201122889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Frankfurt/Main (ADN)—A friendly meeting between Herbert Mies, DKP chairman, and Hermann Axen, chief of the SED delegation to the Ninth DKP Congress, and Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, took place in Frankfurt/Main on Monday [9 January]. Herbert Mies reciprocated the fraternal greetings conveyed by Hermann Axen from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. The talks focused on the joint struggle and close cooperation of both parties for ensuring peace, so that war will never again start from German soil. There was an exchange of views on the results of the Ninth DKP Congress. Hermann Axen wished the DKP comrades much success in implementing the party congress resolutions.

Taking part in the meeting on the SED side were Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk SED leadership; Gunter Rettner, SED Central Committee member; and Hans Georg Schuster, Central Committee department deputy director. Present on the DKP side were Ellen Weber, deputy party chairwoman, and Karl-Heinz Schroeder.

SEW Demands Banning of Neofascist Organization

AU1101155989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—The SEW has again demanded the banning of the neofascist "Republicans" and their exclusion from the elections to the Berlin (West) Chamber of Deputies. In an open letter to Berlin Mayor Diepgen, the SEW points out that the "Republics" have made it clear in their election program that they stand for and propagate neofascist and antidemocratic ideas and enmity to the peoples. Therefore, the SEW demands that the admission of the party to the elections on 29 January—which was done despite massive public protests—be withdrawn and the provision of the International Congress Center for a meeting on 18 January be refused.

Schabowski Awarded Karl Marx Order

AU1001194789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)—In the building of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, Guenter Schabowski received cordial congratulations from the Politburo collective on his 60th birthday Wednesday [4 January].

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, expressed the party's congratulations and pointed out the dedicated work performed by Guenter Schabowski as a Politburo member and at the top of the Berlin party organization for carrying out the party's resolutions, particularly for the development and shaping of Berlin as a capital city, for a good life of its citizens in security and social safety.

In the presence of the party-state leadership members, Erich Honecker awarded Guenter Schabowski the Karl Marx Order.

Workers' Peasants' Inspectorate Elections Begin

AU1001153689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Excerpt] Dessau (ADN)—Close cooperation between science and production, the most economical use of energy, the production of consumer goods according to plan and contract, and the reliable fulfillment of foreign trade tasks are at the focus of checks by the GDR Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (ABI) which began elections of the more than 20,000 commissions and over 7,000 people's control committees earlier this week. Minister Dr. Albert Stief, chairman of the GDR Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate Committee, stressed at an ABI election meeting at the Dessau magnetic tape factory that ABI continues to give considerable attention to all problems related to the citizens' social security and well-being. The reliable supply of basic necessities, child care at kindergartens, the gastronomic quality, and care of large families, as well as the service sector will be at the focus of the people's control committees in particular, the minister said. They will also check how the proposals based on mass control of order, cleanliness, and hygiene in 52,000 social facilities of cities and municipalities have been carried out. [passage omitted]

National Assembly Continues Debate

Discusses Refugee Issue

LD1101214489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Relay of National Assembly proceedings in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Session chairwoman Mrs Jakab] Our fellow deputy, Gyorgy Banffy, of Budapest's Fourth Constituency, has asked to speak outside of the agenda, on a topic which I have mentioned. It is his turn to speak:

[Banffy] Everything that has happened in recent months on the Hungarian-Romanian border justifiably preoccupies Hungarians no matter where in the world they live. It is in itself tragic if someone has to leave his native land; however, the tragedy often leads not only to spiritual, but literally to physical tragedy. I feel there is no need for me here to give any deeper and more extensive justification for turning to you now in connection with our stand taken at the December session on respecting the rights of national minorites, although this is not on the agenda. After all, the individual fates of the refugees are gradually approaching the scale of the big disasters in our history. Therefore, it is our duty to do at least this much: to see that not a single person should be dragged through the mire or put to the sword [felkoncol] over there, as a result of a decision by Hungarian authorities, no matter what his mother tongue might be.

I act on the demands that have been sent to me by my constituency, as well as those sent to both of my fellow deputies of the Second District, Attila Zsigmond and Gyula Bubla; to Budapest Deputies Pal Gagyor and Adel Orosz; to Imre Antal, my fellow deputy from Erd, in whose constituency live numerous families who have come from Bukovina; and in addition to those sent to numerous of our fellow deputies, from Country Veszprem to Szeged, Keszthely. And having obtained unanimous support for my proposal at yesterday's session of the Foreign Affars Committee, I respectfully ask you to listen to the following:

1. Let the National Assembly resolve that without judicial proceedings, not a single refugee should be liable to deportation from the country. To supervise this, the Foreign Affairs Committee could perhaps set up a subcommittee.

2. Let the National Assembly call on the government to give detailed information at the next session about measures connected with the refugees, dwelling in particular on the questions indicated in the following points: 1) the results up to the present of family unification; 2) About the setting up of refugee camps; 3) about the possibility of joining the Geneva Convention; 4) about availing ourselves of the willingness of the United Nations and its Refugee Affairs Commission to help, about which, as far as I have been informed, discussions are already under way.

I believe that the information would aid domestic and international public opinion, as well as the press, in judging the situation realistically. I respectfully ask my fellow deputies to accept my proposal.

[Jakab] On behalf of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, Dr Karoly Toth, deputy, wishes to speak.

[Toth] Esteemed house, dear fellow deputies: On behalf of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee and on the basis of the experiences of the churches' assistance to refugees, I wish to make a contribution to the motion of our fellow deputy, Gyorgy Banffy.

To put the motion's background in simple terms: On the one hand, it is a matter of clarifying the issues concerning whether or not to admit refugees arriving in our country from Romania. It is not clear who is enpowered to decide on accepting them or rejecting them, and on what basis. On the other hand, the sorting out of the legal situation of those who are admitted is a task which can no longer be deferred.

The main points of yesterday's Foreign Affairs Committee debate—which discussed the motion of our fellow deputy, Gyorgy Banffy—were the following, which I would like to summarize very concisely:

1. It appears necessary to create a refugee camp, or refugee camps, so that admission or possible rejection is the result of a thorough investigation. Naturally, a subcommittee or another organ could supervise the investigation.

2. The issue of our joining the Geneva refugee affairs agreement is pressing. This complex issue is being worked out; however, the clarification of every aspect takes a certain amount of time, so patience is still necessary here.

3. The problem of family unification is a very painful wound. Our competent authorities must genuinely give sincere and open information on our capabilities, on our efforts up to this point, on the results, and also on the lack of success as well.

3. [as heard] The abrogation of the Romanian-Hungarian citizens' agreement would help to rectify the refugees' legal situation in Hungary. To the Hungarian Reformed Church's submission to this effect, we have been told by the minister of justice that there is growing sentiment for terminating this agreement on the first occasion that arises.

4. The question also arose at the Foreign Affairs Committee session as to whether it might not be necessary for the government to turn to the UN organization on the issue of the national minorities in Romania and the refugees. We have heard that in this regard several of our fellow deputies have received requests from their electors to do this; and it is necessary to reply to these requests and proposals.

Now, very briefly about the churches' experiences: On the subject of the churches' experiences in their very broad activity in the refugees' interest, stemming from their religious conviction and in the Christian spirit of love, the urgent formulation of the refugees' legal status is considered to be the most urgent and important task.

We value our government's efforts in the refugees' interest. We see and understand the difficulties. Nevertheless, it is necessary to say sincerely and openly that rapid and effective assistance has unfortunately run up against numerous bureaucratic obstacles.

I shall list some of these. First, the central measures, mainly in settlement and financial issues, housing affairs, and credit issues, reach the countryside slowly or not at all. Unfortunately, this is the situation; this is what our vicars and our colleagues who deal with the refugees complain about.

In our opinion, the appointment of a government commissioner would be desirable in the interest of arranging affairs more quickly, alongside the functioning of the interministerial committee.

Then, on the matter of refugees for whom Hungarian is not their mother-tongue, for them traveling on is a difficult issue, too. The refugees who do not speak Hungarian—Romanians—cause very many problems for those who deal with this issue, with their groundless demands, with their accusations—but I do not want to go into detail on this. For this reason, I believe that it is very important to give them help so that they can travel on. Of course, the bearing of the burden of the [words indistinct] and travel costs is often an open question. [passage omitted]

Finally, the customs procedures for aid packages—primarily clothing and food parcels from Western countries—must and ought to be accelerated. At present, it is necessary to wait 2 weeks for the process to begin. If the national bank gives an exemption from the value assessment to aid parcels, the customs procedure can take 2 or 3 days. We distribute very much aid in the form of clothing and food to the refugees.

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize—and I would like to stress this—the responsibility of the mass media, primarily in two areas. To be sure, it is a disputed issue; but my conscience tells me to speak openly about it: first, because regular information ought to be given on the difficulties awaiting refugees with regard to housing matters, et cetera—problems of fitting in, so that those intending to flee should not entertain illusions. They should be aware of the difficulties awaiting them.

Second, it is very important for the mass media, as far as possible, to report verified news concerning the refugees. This is because, in our opinion, every untrue report destroys our credibility to a great extent and prevents the effective handling of this difficult and delicate issue.

With these comments, on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I support the motion of our fellow deputy, Gyorgy Banffy, and I ask that this proposal be accepted. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

[Jakab] My fellow deputy, Mrs Alberth, asks permission to speak.

[Alberth] All the same, it is necessaray to clarify the following question: Can a foreign citizen obtain a state dwelling in Hungary? After all, as far as I know, the laws concerning dwellings stipulate that they cannot. Many people have come over and are coming over to our county [Hajdu-Bihar] as well. They want to buy flats, even rented flats—yes, they want to buy them as well—and they would like to receive subsidized housing as well. Thus, what I am asking is that if we make a decision on this matter, we should look at these laws as well. Thank you very much.

[Jakab] Istvan Horvath, the minister of interior, asks permission to speak.

[Horvath] Esteemed National Assembly: Although my colleagues and I working in the administration were not familiar with every detail of the proposal in advance, what I can say is that with regard to its essence, my colleagues and I fully understand and agree with the essence of the proposal put forward by Deputy Gyorgy Banffy and by Deputy Bishop Karoly Toth, speaking on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly. I think it is unnecessary for me to add here to the words that have more than once been spoken in this hall about the sadness and bitterness with which the genuine reports concerning the fate of the Hungarians beyond our borders, in Romania, fill us. At the same time, the esteemed deputies of the National Assembly are also aware that precisely the recent experiences concerning the situation of the Hungarians there moved the government—and this is something that the National Assembly has acknowledged and approved—to seek procedures and means, at its own responsibility and later with the authorization of the National Assembly and with the financial means placed at its disposal, which—inside the borders of the country and also in our international activities—contain many new elements compared to those methods employed earlier.

In the proposals, special mention was made of several issues concerning the domestic handling of this matter. I think that you, esteemed National Assembly, are aware that this caught the organs handling these matters unprepared. Despite this, I can say that the actions of the state organs reflected sentiments and sought solutions in line with the proposals put forward here. I must say that the organs participating in the intergovernmental commission established by the government for dealing with the affairs of those who have resettled in Hungary sought to carry out procedures that were in line not with personal passions or momentary improvization, but rather with the political policy that the country follows.

I cannot in any way claim that these procedures and decisions have always been without fault. Consequently, it is necessary and right that, in line with the proposal put forward by the deputy and the committee, the government should give an account at one of the next sessions of the National Assembly of all those questions that have been raised here.

Questions concerning the granting of permission or regarding the application of those wishing to settle here; cases of family reunification; the case for joining the international refugee convention; the designation of an intergovernmental committee and a government commissioner; and the practice of dealing with travel to third countries.

Still, I am now asking the esteemed National Assembly—because the government is dealing with (?all these issues presently)—not to adopt a resolution on this issue or on our joining the international refugee convention. Allow the government to examine relevant information for a few weeks, or a month or two. Or in the case of judicial proceedings—as was said here just now—legal regulations on this matter exist not only for Hungarian-Romanian relations, but also for relations between Hungary and other countries. This makes it desirable to review thoroughly and precisely how these international obligations—which we accepted many years ago—can be coordinated, or whether it is possible—keeping these in view, too—to find a solution such as that proposed by Deputy Gyorgy Banffy and the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee.

Therefore, let me request the National Assembly to adopt these proposals with the proviso that it should call on the government to report at the next session on this matter and to submit—where it is necessary for the National Assembly to take a stand—proposals accordingly. [applause]

[Jakab] I ask the National Assembly whether it adopts the Foreign Affairs Committee proposal—together with the supplementary proposals, including Interior Minister Istvan Horvath's request? Those who do, please vote by raising your hand. [passage omitted]

[Jakab] I announce the resolution. The National Assembly has adopted the Foreign Affairs Committee proposal with two votes against and one abstention. [passage omitted]

Views Standing Orders Amendment

LD1101180189 Budapest MTI in English 1617 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—The report on the amendment of the parliament's standing orders was presented by Mihaly Korom, MP for Bacs-Kiskun County, chairman of the preparatory committee.

He said the committee does not propose that the issue of the relationship of parliament and the government should be settled this time. In this way, the proposals concerning the nomination, election and recall of the chairman and members of the Council of Ministers will not be submitted, as these highly important questions of policy and state law should be regulated in the Constitution. On the motion of confidence and non-confidence, however, a report is to be submitted to parliament by March 31. The committee already recommended for adoption the MP's proposal that the state official candidates to be elected by parliament should be heard in advance by the competent standing committee, and its findings should be outlined at the plenary session.

Mihaly Korom proposed that a nomination committee should be set up to present the personnel proposals to the plenary session on the election of parliamentary officials.

The elected nomination committee would be operative during the whole parliamentary cycle. Some MPs considered the election of the nomination committee a formal measure on the grounds that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front have decisive influence in determining the composition of parliamentary officials. Mr Korom said that even so, it did not mean that the nomination committee would be given any compulsory list.

It is a new measure that on questions of personnel, except the officials and members of standing committees, secret voting will be made compulsory.

In connection with the regulation in greater detail of parliamentary immunity and incompatibility, the committee recognized that these proposals were justified, but were of the opinion that a decision should be postponed until the new constitution has been enacted.

To facilitate the work of MPs, the committee proposed that they should be given an annual 40 days off. According to the bill, this period would be due to legislators besides the plenary sessions of parliament, and conferences of county MP groups and standing committees.

The adopted amendment to the Constitution extends the scope of authority of the parliament's president, as was included in the draft amendment of the standing orders.

For example, instead of the Presidential Council, the president of the National Assembly should be entitled to convene parliamentary sessions, except the statutory session.

The modifications also affect the parliament's standing committees. In a major change, the new standing orders regulate only the lower limit of the strength of standing committees, leaving it to the plenum to set the upper limit.

The committee considers it necessary to confirm the rule that a closed parliamentary session can only be held in emergency. This would tighten the valid rule that closed sessions should be held on the proposal of the president, as well as of the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers. It is proposed that in future such a motion should only be permitted if justified by the protection of a state secret.

It was a debated provision of the standing rules that should the government not agree with one of the proposed amendments, the voting should first concern the proposal of the Council of Ministers and modification follow. The committee proposes a return to the previous parliamentary practice of deciding first on the proposed amendments.

Mr Korom suggested that the National Assembly should also have a spokesman.

Further on Standing Orders Change

LD1101212189 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI) - On Wednesday in Budapest, MPs approved the bill on amending the standing orders and its uniform text, with three votes against and five abstentions.

Prior to the vote, Mihaly Korom, who presented the point on the agenda, summarized the contributions and proposals heard in the debate. He asked parliament to prolong the mandate of the standing orders committee, as the issue of confidence and no-confidence moves will be submitted to the legislative body by March 31, and this will also have a bearing on the standing orders which will continue to require the work of the committee.

In connection with the proposals of the MPs on the draft of the standing orders, Mr Korom said that, reviewing the proposal on setting up standing committee, the standing orders committee proposes it should be made possible for the committees to elect their chairmen, secretaries and members on the basis of their own proposals. At the same time, the officials should be elected by the plenum. The MPs approved this proposal. On the basis of proposals by the MPs, the standing orders committee amended the rule related to the immunity of the deputies, stressing that a deputy of the National Assembly cannot be arrested, or criminal proceedings launched against them, or investigations extended to them, without the assent of parliament, with the exception of their being caught in the act.

A decision was also made on whether voting according to name should be carried out openly, with the raising of hands, or with signatures. The MPs voted for open voting with the raising of hands.

Following the vote on the standing orders, Laszlo Tecsy, MP from Szabolcs-Szatmar County, asked to take the floor out of turn, and announced that on the basis of the approved standing orders, he and several of his fellow deputies have founded the agrarian sector of parliament. They appealed to the parliamentary MPs working in the agricultural area, in the food industry, agricultural education and research and in related trades to join the new work group. Their aim is to implement the tasks that fall on the branch from the programme of advancement, and to better the fate of the peasantry and the villages.

Session Ends 11 Jan

LD1101210989 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—The December-January session of the Hungarian National Assembly ended on Wednesday evening in Budapest, with answers given to interpellations and questions.

Matyas Szuros Discusses Refugee Repatriation

LD1201112389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Interview with Matyas Szuros, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, by correspondent Tamas Forro, in the framework of the "Morning Dialogue" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Forro] Should it turn out that the matter of the 18 corpses along the Hungarian-Romanian border was a false rumor, this would be a rather considerable loss of prestige for Hungary vis-a-vis Romania and, I think, in terms of international prestige as well.

[Szuros] This report is certainly not in accordance with the facts and consequently, it is damaging. On the one hand, this is a domestic political issue, because those who drew up the letter [the Gyula branch of the Hungarian Democratic Front, alleging that 18 corpses with gunshot wounds were found along the Hungarian-Romanian border] that is, those who disseminated these reports, without foundation, create distrust toward official Hungarian organs. From another respect, it is obvious that this does not cast a good light on Hungary in the international arena, even though we know that the Hungarian press functions independently and that official Hungarian organs, the Hungarian Government, cannot be held responsible for this. Nonetheless, this is likely to elicit a negative reaction, and this does not help our cause. Consequently it is very important for the whole country and for the world to see in what spirit the Hungarian National Assembly adopts its stance on this matter.

[Forro] Will the expulsions end now?

[Szuros] There might be cases when undesirable persons enter the territory of Hungary. However, even in these cases, expulsion, or the return of such persons to the official organs of other countries, must be preceded by a thorough investigation. For example, racial discrimination has no part to play in this. Just because someone is a Gypsy or belongs to another nationality, he must not be expelled without a thorough investigation and checks.

[Forro] In the most recent case, when it was intended to return two young men to Romania, this arose because they had tried to cross the Hungarian border into Austria illegally, in order to go to Sweden, because this is how they sought to become reunited with their families. This is neither a religious issue nor a racial matter; they quite simply violated a Hungarian law. But according to various people, it was a police official who decided on their fate, without the opportunity of legal redress, to which everyone in the world is entitled. There is a right of appeal and so on.

[Szuros] Yes, it is beyond a doubt that mistakes do occur in this area. Mistakes are committed by certain individuals or by certain institutions. Consequently, the entire issue requires serious review. This is why I consider it important that the National Assembly is now directing the attention of the government to quite specific questions, calling on the government to take steps.

[Forro] There are suggestions that Transylvanian Hungarians should not be the concern of the organs dealing with the control of foreigners—after all, they are Hungarians—but rather, some sort of independent organization, either a commissioner for refugees or some sort of organization functioning alongside the National Assembly. Is this a realistic proposal?

[Szuros] I think that this is also an issue which the government will have to think through. How should this be handled? Who should deal with these people? After all, this is different from the normal business of dealing with foreigners.

[Forro] We hear more and more about the setting up of refugee camps. Of course, on the one hand this would involve the danger of [word indistinct]. On the other hand, however, this would reduce the possibility of handing back people in a hasty, ill-considered manner.

[Szuros] Without any doubt, this would make the whole process more organized, easier to review, and it is likely that this solution would make it possible to avoid many mistakes.

[Forro] Hungary has not joined the Geneva convention on refugees since 1951. However, were this step taken, it would solve a great many problems.

[Szuros] Yes, I fully agree with this. As a result, the Foreign Ministry is dealing with this question, examining how it would be sensible to join this convention. Needless to say, this would immediately simplify the refugee question, although it must be said that it would affect our relations with third countries—for example, agreements with third countries.

[Forro] Do you mean relations with Romania or Czechoslovakia?

[Szuros] Also our relations with the Soviet Union. This would make the handling of refugees a uniform one, thus affecting several currently valid bilateral agreements. We would have to review these.

[Forro] In other words, it is possible that we would have to cancel agreements.

[Szuros] Yes, or at least they would have to be modified. The Foreign Ministry is presently working on this. It is the job of the specialists to review this.

[Forro] As far as I know, of the socialist countries only Yugoslavia has joined the Geneva Convention.

[Szuros] Yes, that is possible. As far as I know Yugoslavia has the closest contacts with the UN Commission on Refugee Affairs.

[Forro] Do we have already some kind of contact with the UN commission?

[Szuros] We do, we do, yes, and the Council of Ministers has a specific standpoint relating to this. In the coming days a delegation of the commission will arrive in Budapest.

[Forro] Is it also conceivable that a bureau will be set up here, or that they will have a representative here?

[Szuros] It is conceivable in the event of the commission taking an active part in granting material aid. As for smaller offers of assistance, it can manage this through its office in Vienna.

[Forro] So far, as a matter of fact, we have held ourselves aloof from all kinds of international forums on Transylvanian refugees. Would this now be the first step?

[Szuros] We have not held ourselves aloof, because we raised the issue in the United Nations, albeit in general terms. And now, on the basis of the appeal by parliament, the government has the duty to prepare a proposal for the United Nations relating to the codification of the individual and collective rights of the nationalities. Thus, Hungarian diplomacy will at some time make a specific move in this direction.

Imre Pozsgay Views Topical Issues, Reform

AU1001063189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Dec 88 pp 3-4

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, member of the Politburo and minister of state, by Zsolt Bajnok, chief editor: "Interview With Imre Pozsgay—Renewed Governing Style—Society Building From Below"—date and place not given]

[Text] The departing old year has been, no doubt, the most lively year in recent decades in terms of political debates, changes promising renewal, and public events. As a representative of government policy, Imre Pozsgay is not only a witness but also an active participant in this powerful succession of domestic policy events. Zsolt Bajnok spoke with him about topical issues and about the reform processes that are at the center of public interest.

[Bajnok] In general, the public is aware of the tasks of the minister of state, because you have described this position several times. However, the details of this function are probably emerging only now. Please, describe for us the task of the minister of state in the current government structure.

[Pozsgay] This is not a new position in the history of Hungarian public law: State ministers were previously included in the government mostly for political purposes. The same applies today. The function of minister of state is a form which has a greater political scope and more opportunities for initiatives, but fewer tasks of professional guidance than branch or functional ministries.

The fact that there have been two ministers of state in the Council of Ministers since November 1988 stresses even more the intention already expressed at the time of my appointment—namely, to advance as well as develop and restructure our political institutions, in the autonomy of government activity, in making the government more politically engaged, and in settling its relations with the party, the parliament, and the independent courts—that is, with the classic branches of power. Personally, my role and function are to foster and develop contacts between the government and the National Assembly, the public and political organizations, movements, and corporations that represent interests. It is also my duty to maintain contacts with the various alternative movements and organizations, and to gather information.

Historical Moment

[Bajnok] Your public activity shows that the national minority issue is also part of your responsibilities.

[Pozsgay] Yes, it is, and in various connections. As for the national minorities living in Hungary, it is my duty, among other things, to see how these people can maintain contacts and develop cooperation with their mother nation, and primarily to see how these people can assert not only their personal but also their collective rights here in Hungary. We should also deal with the affairs of the large number of our Hungarian brothers living as national minorities in their ancient settlements along our borders, their bonds with the history and culture of our nation, and with their identity. We should deal particularly with the affairs of those people whose fate has been so painfully disturbed by dubious policies. We should also intensively deal with the affairs of Hungarians scattered all over the world, being aware of the fact that the time has passed when we voiced political confrontation in dealing with them. On the contrary, the historic time has now come to build not only nostalgic relations but also political cooperation with these people, accepting the fact that the native Hungarians beyond our borders as well as the Hungarians scattered all over the world bear responsibility and loyalty as citizens of their respective countries, but that they also represent a source of strength for the Hungarian nation itself.

Last but not least, government supervision and other activities connected with scientific policy and publicity are also part of my area of responsibilities as minister of state.

I think that this description of tasks in itself also shows that a minister of state indeed has mainly tasks of political organization and information. I am happy to see that the Council of Ministers has devoted increasing attention toward such activities. Of course, constraints also play a role in this, because the more active an often critical and complaining society becomes, the more intensively a government is compelled to deal with social policy issues by engaging in open politics.

[Bajnok] In the eyes of the citizens, a new position, primarily a new ministerial function, is connected with a new apparatus. What is the size of the administrative "circle" of the new minister of state?

[Pozsgay] I have a small secretariat, because my activity is focused on political tasks, rather than state administration tasks. The Office of the Council of Ministers deals with professional guidance when such tasks appear. I myself work with the help of advisory bodies. The Council of Ministers approved at its latest session the creation of an information policy collegium, which will function as an advisory body headed by me. We have also made preparations to establish a national minority collegium and a collegium in charge of the affairs of Hungarians living outside our borders.

Political World Concept and Practice

[Bajnok] Among your tasks, you have mentioned information and the establishment of contacts with the self-organizing alternative groups in society. What have your experiences been in this field so far?

[Pozsgay] A government that wants to govern on the basis of the people's front and also by implementing coalition considerations, of course, gathers information about various forces active in society and looks for opportunities for cooperation or analyzes the possible various social groupings that play an opposition and critical role.

The orientation toward various alternative groups is still in a very primitive stage today. Among the various reasons for this, I would like to point out the reasons relevant to us. Certain bad habits and traditions that make various offices and official policies view the appearance of these movements and organizations with suspicion and a lack of understanding disturb such an orientation. As a result of a long period of government style which conveyed any executive—including government—decision from a single political will, we simply lack an adequate political style of deciding what the government should accept from the various impulses sent from the various sources and what it should reject.

The alternative organizations are also reflections of this situation, and the aforementioned conclusion also refers to them. These bad habits are also present in these organizations, because, when we hesitate in signaling our readiness to negotiate, these alternative organizations ask themselves whether they are not betraying themselves when they meet with government representatives.

However, apart from these hesitations and uncertainties, the government takes these organizations into account as a real social scope and force. These organizations already fit into the government's political world concept, but they still find it difficult to fit into its political practice. Perhaps I myself have shown less virtue and less initiative than the entire matter deserved. Incidentally, I would like to stress that we have left no room for doubt, nor will we leave any room for doubt in the future, that building relations between the government and the traditional organizations is also a major task. Therefore, we wholeheartedly support the efforts aimed at renewing and strengthening the traditional trade union movement and relying more on its members, and the efforts aimed at renewing the KISZ and making it play a role in Hungarian public life as a real partner and as an important representative of the young people. Thus, when we pay adequate and sincere attention to the various alternative organizations in accordance with their importance, we do not neglect the organizations that have always been partners with the government.

Also, it is a dialectic of this matter that the political stage has increasingly become a stage of competition where the traditional and the newly emerging organizations that call themselves alternatives are either on a collision course with each other or take up cooperative methods. Therefore, when the government is set on building social relations, it never faces a crystal-clear or easily-defined situation.

In connection with the various alternative movements, we are often asked why we do not rank them under some nomenclature, and why we do not classify them according to their importance and merits. Well, this is not the task of the government, because we are talking here about a dynamically developing, changing, and swirling "world of associations" whose players emerge or disappear under the effects and influence of novelty.... We have no right to evaluate these organizations from other points of view, but only on the basis of the Constitution and the political requirements that derive from it. If they meet the requirements of the Constitution and the Law on Associations—requirements that will be clearly discernible in the near future—the government will be left with only one political question, and this question is not whether these organizations can exist at all, as this issue lies outside the jurisdiction of the government, but whether these organizations are ready to cooperate with the government or whether they will act as an opposition in making their observations and comments.

Becoming a Party

[Bajnok] Another inevitable question is whether these organizations are parties or whether they will become parties. Even more importantly: Will their existence and activity not lead to chaotic conditions?

[Pozsgay] All I can say to that is that the Hungarian legislature in the spirit of human rights and rights of political freedom leaves open the issue of these organizations becoming parties. In the future, there will be a clear legal situation in this respect. The political forms of these organizations will be decided by a clarification and struggle between these political movements and self-organizations and the existing political forces in society.

I am convinced that these organizations, even the most critical ones, will become factors of political stability in Hungary if the leading party, the government, and these organizations jointly recognize what should be done in order to avoid the crisis and to renew Hungary. If they reach some sort of consensus or come to an agreement in this matter, then they will be stabilizing factors, rather than factors of anarchy. These organizations do not threaten us with anarchy. We are threatened with anarchy rather by the fact that there are clearly official organizations on one side, and there is a disorganized society on the other; and the relations between them are becoming strained and confrontational as a result of the economic problems, the decreasing living standard, and discontent. There is greater readiness for cooperation and ability to reach a consensus in a politically organized society than in a dependent society that functions as a disorganized mass. Here, a readiness to revolt has the upper hand. Therefore, it is a matter of political style for both the government and the alternative organizations to reach an agreement. Anyway, in the future, the government intends to demonstrate greater readiness to gather information and more active cooperation toward these organizations.

[Bajnok] Is this intention to come to terms mutual?

[Pozsgay] As I have already mentioned, we do not make up a nomenclature, and we do not classify these organizations. I think, however, that the basic principles and efforts of cooperation are discernible in the norms of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the New March Front, the Openness Club, and slightly in the Union of Young Democrats. Nor can we disregard the observations and critical comments made by organizations like the Association of Free Democrats.

Of course, it will take two to obtain a bargain in the upcoming negotiations. On the one hand, the government should clearly formulate its own platform—namely, what it really wants. I think a lot has happened in this respect lately. However, we also have to know what these organizations really want. We will analyze their plans, programs, program declarations, and their political declarations. Negotiations with these organizations can be planned either jointly or individually only if all this takes place openly, with the awareness of the public at large.

Democracy Package Deal

[Bajnok] In connection with the democracy package deal submitted to parliament at its session in November, you said that we have to meet two fundamental conditions for a reform of our political institutions: social guarantees for democracy, and legal guarantees for the same democracy. What exactly do you mean by these two conditions?

[Pozsgay] Social guarantees for democracy can be provided by a strong civil society in which most of the citizens are able to achieve the necessary level of autonomy and create the conditions of self-determination. For this, we have to clarify a multitude of various social and economic concepts, from ownership relations to our position in the division of labor. This is also part of the reform because only such a community of citizens can feel enough courage and sovereignty to create new institutions themselves, to operate these institutions with responsibility and initiatives, and to include in these institutions the social forces capable of supervising the government.

Several legal guarantees could be added to these preconditions, primarily a constitution that focuses on the implementation of human rights. This constitution can also determine the nature of the society and its political order in the same spirit, and can also implement the national and public law characteristics of the 1,000-year-old Hungarian statehood. Thus, this constitution can be one based on universal human rights by simultaneously being a Hungarian constitution too.

Starting from these requirements, one should then determine the state institutions: starting from the parliament and the local self-governing bodies and their election and ending with the election system and the subjects of the election. The citizen is the trustee of all of these, but this needs clarification as to what institutions he uses in order to implement his subjective rights—the form of electoral districts or political organizations, parties, or bodies that represent interests. The implementation of the classic division of power and of the various branches of power is also part of this constitutional plan.

We continue to strive to make the National Assembly the representative of the people's sovereignty, but, obviously, the new constitution will be only one expression of the people's sovereignty. This is because the people will also be able to express their own sovereignty through their own direct and democratic institutions, like through a referendum. If the republican presidential form is used, the implementation of the people's sovereignty will also be included in the republican presidential mandates.

The classic division of branches of power and the creation of a balance between them definitely require a clear delimitation of the legislative and executive power as well as a suspension of the power of judges and attorneys. Such a new constitution based on human rights will also provide guarantees that neither state bodies nor citizens can violate it. This will require a constitutional court. Because it is also important for the citizen to prove his point against the state administration, if he is really right, establishing an administrative court is also justified. Similarly, preparations are being made to create the institution of a human rights spokesman, and of a state auditing office to supervise the implementation of the state budget. This double relation, namely the internal system of guarantees of the institutions of civil society and of the political state, could jointly create a pluralist constitutional state that cannot be foreign to socialism in a civilized country at the end of the 20th century.

All this also plays an international role because we can thus join the European cultural circle which we spiritually never really left, not even at the time of confrontation.

The Principle of People's Sovereignty

[Bajnok] We have repeatedly heard at various forums lately that we are talking about a division in exercising power, rather than about a division of power. How do you interpret this formulation?

[Pozsgay] In this respect, the party has clear principles. The assertion of these principles was derailed by the distortions and degenerations of the Stalinist period.

First: There has never been talk in principle of the power of the party, either in the initial period of the revolution, or in the period of its consolidation. We have always termed the revolution the power of the working class, and later, in our constitutional modifications, we called it people's power. In principle, we have never talked about party power and party dictatorship! In practice, however, as I have already mentioned, the Stalinist model distorted this principle and created a sort of party rule to oppose the concepts of the founders and of the initiators. This practice caused damage precisely to scientific socialism and the revolutionary movement.

Second: Political power can and should be determined only within the framework of the state. To paraphrase Marx, in comparison with this, namely the activity of the state, anything else is private activity, even the activity of the parties. If a political party interprets this differently, it will lead to a party state itself, and the party will appear as "a state within a state," something that will cause unbearable damage precisely to the principles of socialism.

I repeat, in principle, all this has always been in order within scientific socialism, but the Stalinist political practice replaced the principle of people's sovereignty with the principle of party sovereignty. It created a situation in which the personal interaction of a top oligarchy made it impossible to supervise the power. This turned power into a tyranny and a means of implementing voluntarist intentions. Therefore, the Stalinist system is mostly effective only in cases where force has to be applied, and not in cases where it is necessary to create the possibilities of a thorough organization of society, because this is a system of power based on a single point, on the top. Any debate and lack of unity creates terrible anxiety throughout society because everyone becomes insecure once this single center of power informs society about the existence of internal debates. This is the reason why, in the Stalinist model, any government crisis is also a deep social and political crisis, and bears the signs of great upheavals and also makes the country impossible to govern. A developed civil and self-organizing society that is able to implement economic laws in coordination with the market does not ponder or hesitate for too long when confronted with political crises, and it does even less when confronted with a government crisis. This is because there always emerges an adequate political leadership in the political arena in such a society, a leadership that is able to easily deal with these crisis phenomena. A hierarchical and over-centralized society built from above constantly carries this uncertainty, bad mood, and a feeling of crisis. As a result of the aforementioned dangers, any change is interpreted as anarchy, and simultaneously, reflexes of overcoming the difficulties also lead to power-defending reflexes. This is the structural problem of the socialist societies that emerged in Eastern Europe. However, socialism can express its ability to reform itself and its sincere desire for renewal by being able to create real conditions for a society built from below, even through state institutions and by means of promoting economic reform. I know that these are slightly worn-out words which have become slogans mainly because their aforementioned content was not always revealed.

The Openness of Government

[Bajnok] What is your view on the openness of government? Is there a determination to include the public in the shop work and in the decisionmaking process?

[Pozsgay] It is also part of the requirements of control over power that the government, the executive power, and the supreme state administrative body, subject themselves to parliamentary control. It is obvious, therefore, that parliament supervises and evaluates the activity of the government, supervises the state budget, and also makes use of its right to call others to account. In the current government-parliament relations, as a result of the principle of electoral districts, of direct contacts between the parliamentary deputies and the electorate, the government cannot know on whom it can rely in presenting its plans in parliament. There are no firm groups that have alternatives and could show that they support or oppose the government on concrete issues or even on general trends. It is not the deputies' or the government's fault, but the fault of the system that this situation is a factor of permanent uncertainty and the disturbance of contacts in the cooperation between parliament and the government. Only a different parliamentary system can change this state of affairs, a system that is able to align organizations behind alternatives, be they parties or bodies that represent interests—future political movements will determine this—which can then form a government either in the form of a coalition, or in the form of a powerful and leading party.

Therefore, the government can conduct only an open policy in parliament, and sooner or later, conditions should be created in which parliament can supervise the activity of the government, basing itself not only on government information but also on independent information. The Council of Ministers supports such a parliament-government relationship because it regards it more as a source of power, rather than as some sort of parliamentary rule. However, it is necessary to clarify what the political style of the National Assembly and that of the government should be in the aforementioned relationship. It is also part of this subject that, for example, in cases of almost uninterrupted legislation taking place in longer parliamentary sessions, the members of the government do not sit through the entire parliamentary session. It is precisely the deputies that would draw attention to the extended recess time enjoyed by the ministers.... However, parliament should also review its own political style. An example of this is: In our National Assembly, a deputy will criticize his fellow deputies if discipline happens to be slack during his address, or if there are too many empty seats in the chamber. In fact, it is the deputy in question who is being disrespectful. He does not say anything worth listening to. In countries with strong parliamentary traditions and ones that are open to public scrutiny, one's eyes have also even become accustomed to frequent empty chairs during plenary sessions, because the deputies are not interested in the person speaking or in the contents of his speech. Therefore, it is worth taking all of these things into the most serious consideration, like whether to call the counter opinions or the separate opinions a circus. Talking about a circus in a place where lively and struggling parliamentary activity is in progress shows a lack of tolerance and shortcomings in the political style. In fact, neither the electing citizen nor the deputy should be blamed for this, because the present parliament grew to be an active parliament from a former parliamentary practice of 3-4 decades, a practice in which its decisions were not too important, when it used to decide on issues that had been decided upon well in advance.

Of course, a government's openness is not limited to its parliamentary activity. In order to make fewer mistakes and achieve greater efficiency in its decisions, the preparatory phase of these decisions should also be made public. There is need not only for activity concerning bureaucratic coordination and a search for agreement, but also for decisionmaking preparation based on the awareness of the public. This is because if we want to replace arbitrary decisions with the democratic principle according to which one is responsible for one's decisions, and this will be reflected, for example, by means of secret ballots in parliament, by means of a referendum in the society, or by other decisions, then we will have to again face the requirements of professionalism and democracy.

Bureaucrats find it difficult to accept these requirements. They think that if they possess particular knowledge that gives them superiority, then they know everything. They do not even notice that it is precisely a manifestation of narrow-mindedness and limitations when, based on particular professional knowledge, one shows contempt for anyone who thinks differently. In this respect, a bureaucrat will always show contempt for the layman's opinion. However, a bureaucrat does not know the secret that the more the masses are left out of a decision, then the more he can disregard the masses' support in implementing that decision and his goals. This is particularly important in issues that require the cooperation of the entire country or of the major communities of its citizens. I consider Hegel's wisdom on the relations between professional knowledge and democracy to be truly relevant: One does not have to be a shoemaker to know where the shoe pinches. This is the secret to the fact that it is, indeed, possible to make decisions based on public opinion on issues that require great professional knowledge, such as public administration issues or organizing a referendum on the issue of building a nuclear power plant.

National Institutions

[Bajnok] Through you, the Council of Ministers supervises our daily as well as the radio, the television, and MTI. How do you feel about this sphere of authority, and how do you intend to exercise this authority?

[Pozsgay] Of course, the government also needs publicity where it provides information, and thus, it acquires approval and cooperation for its activity. The government tries to convince society that it has decided correctly, and in this respect, the government represents its position firmly and unequivocally. It is therefore justified for the government to have its own daily and to be able to express its efforts in other newspapers too. This can become a matter of conscience where and when only the government can inform the public. This leads to moral problems with journalists, the public, and perhaps even with the government itself. Under conditions of open publicity based on the freedom of the press—that is, under conditions in which not only the government has the right to inform the public—it needs its own means of giving answers, of conducting debates, and of providing information. In this respect, I differentiate between the press and the electronic media. In the realm of the press, in this world of variety and different colors, the government should have a firm daily through which it can make its voice heard. When the new law on information is ready, the establishment of newspapers and publishing houses, as well as the distribution of published materials, will become a subjective right. In a world of a multitude of press publications, we need a firm government daily which can be quite attractive and effective, because it is also in the interest of the citizens to know the government's position. Besides, it is my conviction that MAGYAR HIRLAP will not be a real government daily if it represents just the government's perspective; it should clearly carry the government's stand on various social issues, but it should also represent the entire society and the variety found within it.

The situation is different with the electronic media, as citizens do not have unlimited opportunities to create television and radio stations. Therefore, these institutions should be regarded as national institutions controlled by the government, which means that, albeit not on the basis of a rigorously measured level, these institutions should create publicity for the entire society and its efforts, without obscuring the government's intentions.

[Bajnok] The formulation "national institution" is quite new in connection with the three central press organs. As far as I know, this has not yet emerged in any other socialist country. Is there an existing concept on the functioning of such a national institution?

[Pozsgay] Indeed, there is no such model, and thus, it is difficult to develop a suitable practice. The task facing the government is particularly difficult because we do not want to hand out recipes or turn our supervisory rights into some sort of a workshop activity. The establishment of the aforementioned information policy collegium could be of great help to us, a collegium that would assist the minister of state in analyzing the processes and in asserting the government's position through these processes, rather than through occasional commotions. Obviously, on the basis of common experiences, various organizations, including certain alternative organizations if they accept it, will be represented in this collegium. However, as these are government-supervised institutions, the government cannot allow the development of processes that are contrary to its goals. However, the government will allow any criticism of its activity in these institutions.

I myself find it particularly important to increase the independence of mass media workshops and of the leaders' personal responsibility. No outside interference by any authority should be allowed either in drafting or organizational matters. The right to make mistakes should be maintained, of course, by asserting the responsibility of the head of the workshop or institution in question, as required by the nature and importance of the issues and by the performance under consideration. If the power can interfere in the internal affairs of such an organization at any point and at any time, then it will acquire, in fact, the role of censorship, and degrade the role of chief editor or the head of the editorial staff to that of a censor, and thus, eliminate his responsibility.

Of course, certain previous practical experiences can oppose this concept. However, a previous mistaken practice should not provide justification for continuing the same practice. In this respect, I am facing great pressure, but I must say that, in this respect, I will not be guided by any political, personal, or other considerations, but only by the principles that I have just outlined.

Past and Future Image

[Bajnok] Your task of leading the committee, which will throw light on the recent decades, is a party rather than a government task. Obviously, it is impossible to outline an image of the future based on a consensus without analyzing the past. Therefore, I ask you now about the pace of this activity.

[Pozsgay] This is a major and sensitive task because, if we want to carry out this task in the spirit of our assignment and in accordance with the requirements of the party and of society, then the party should give evidence of a large amount of self-awareness and a capacity for self-criticism. These qualities are needed because we have to carry out a critical analysis of the history of the past 4 decades, and especially the political experiences of the past 2-3 decades. At a time of crisis, when the leading party is struggling with an identity crisis and is facing a certain lack of legitimacy within society, the recognition of the importance of self-awareness and the inevitable discovery of certain facts could even increase the confusion. However, I think that for this party to function more effectively and with fewer mistakes in the future, it should carry this work out. We cannot avoid this, even if it causes a certain amount of suffering and shock. The task is nothing less than changing a model, eliminating the embedded remnants of a Stalinist structure, and outlining the image of dynamic social management and government.

In this respect, we should start from an awareness of the historical facts when we analyze the government's ideological legitimacy, social basis, and social legitimacy, particularly the situation and requirements of our views and concepts concerning the working class, and the subsequent distortions. Last but not least, in connection with the aforementioned requirements, we should also analyze the reasons behind the failure of community forms of economic performance and socialization [szocializacio] which we had propagated in principle. How is it possible that European countries that are less advanced than us have overtaken us? What is the reason behind the fact that, as a result of bureaucratic pressures, the flow and return of foreign capital have slowed down, there is no real cooperation between producers, and the solidarity between people has decreased? In other words, we have to sum up the reasons for and the phenomena of this crisis, while alerting and protectively paying attention to recognizing achievements and values. Based on this, we have to shape a political image that will provide real faith and confidence.

However, no serious party which is ready for renewal can accept having researchers and analysts driven and lured into a confessional position on the pretext of safeguarding interests; this has always misfired in the course of history. There has been enough confession here. We do not have the right to question the faith of the confessors, but disappointment is not caused by this analysis, but rather by the reality of this socialism. Whoever does not dare face the mistakes of socialism and the mistakes of its direction has the least confidence in socialism. He truly believes only in his own mission and its rigid forms, and he is either a power maniac or narrow-minded. Here I do not mean the people, but a group of officials.

As a result of the aforementioned system and structure, the people have slipped into a high-level political delusion. To paraphrase Marx, there is an extremely high proportion of mob rule in a mass of people who have been degraded into dependents and have deeply fallen into a political delusion. In other words, if terminology carries a meaning, and in my view it does, then in the future we will have to speak about people, rather than about "masses" or "policy-concerning masses." There are no preconceptions in this analysis, only a single requirement: an honest discovery of reality and the drawing of objective conclusions. There are no prescribed conclusions for us. This committee works freely and only our abilities limit its activity. We try to overcome these limits by carrying out our work with a demand for the highest level of information. The first partial analyses have already been made, complete with important information and concepts. This spring will be the time for synthesizing and preparing the program of a future image.

The Political Reform Is Not a Consolation Prize

[Bajnok] You have mentioned that the task is sensitive. It is no accident that documents and archival materials are generally closed for 25, 50 years, and even longer. Have you come across such difficulties, as many of the participants are still living and working among us?

[Pozsgay] We have not yet come across such difficulties in the real sense of the word, because the knowledge accumulated so far has been enough to carry out certain partial tasks and analyses. However, it is clear that in cases when we get stuck, we also have to make use of archival materials, and not only information based purely on memory, but also documented information. There are no official obstacles in this respect, and we receive the necessary support from the relevant institutions. If there are obstacles at all, they are mostly psychological in nature. The active participants of the previous period, including former factors of power who filled important jobs, are still with us, and we have to take into consideration their responsibility, and even personal responsibility in some cases. We cannot avoid this either, but a witch-hunt is not our goal. There is much more at stake.

[Bajnok] In conclusion, in view of your personal faith and expectations, what will the new year bring us?

[Pozsgay] When we are striving for knowledge of reality and self-awareness, we do not throw obstacles in the way of the future; on the contrary, we open up the way for the future. In this respect, I am optimistic: Even the current year of 1989 could already bring almost decisive political developments, particularly if we make progress in reforming our Constitution and political institutions, and if we avoid unilateral actions. The political reform cannot be a consolation prize to the people for a lack of economic reforms and economic performance. The two things should be encouraged and carried out simultaneously.

The government is ready and able to think and come up with initiatives on the basis of such a synthesis. The government will try to sum up the people's confidence, and create new confidence where possible, by mutually understanding with the people that the current year will still be a year of payments and sacrifices. However, the government is obliged to respect certain human norms and safeguard the interests of the most endangered strata of society while its real goal—following a long stagnation and a depressing deterioration—is to prepare future prosperity in the spirit of the entire national interest.

I know that conditions must be created for all this. Therefore, the government wants to excel in a spirit of initiative and readiness, rather than in limitations, and to lead society away from the policy of restrictions, toward openness and ventures. This requires a general consensus which can be achieved only by means of a comprehensive social dialogue. In this dialogue, by making use of both institutional and less institutional forms, we should provide direct scope for citizens' activities, that is, citizens' organizations, beginning with the party, the trade unions, the youth and women's movements, and production associations, and ending with the churches and the alternative movements. I can imagine this dialogue only in the framework of a free and new openness.

PZPR Party Members Discuss 10th Plenum

Politburo on Upcoming Part

LD1001234489 Warsaw PAP in English 1928 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—PUWP CC Political Bureau discussed today the arrangements for the second part of the 10th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee scheduled to take place on January 16-17.

The Political Bureau also examined the conditions and problems concerning the implementation of the plan of the consolidation of economy and a package of government projects related to it.

Rank-and-File Party Members

AU1001145589 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 4 January on page 1; on 5 January on page 1; and on 6 January on pages 1, 2 carries roundups totaling 3,000 words of statements made by rank-and-file members on the issues raised by 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the Politburo theses. The statements focus on the need to reorganize the party in response to the new conditions created by the reforms, with emphasis on an increased role for primary party organizations, and to provide clear guidelines on how party members should now act in the resolution to be adopted at the end of the second half of the plenum.

The statements carried on 4 January focus on impressions of the first half of the plenum and suggestions concerning the content of the plenum resolution. A factory worker from Jastrzebie, says: "I do not think that everyone will find my thoughts on the first half of the 10th Central Committee Plenum to their liking. This is because I think that we are continuing to act too cautiously, we often opt for half measures, and at times we act in the same way as we did in the past. Cadre policy serves as an example" and suggests that a solution lies in "greater autonomy as well as powers for primary party organizations." Kazimierz Rosiewicz, a PZPR Factory Committee first secretary believes that the key issue for the second half of the plenum is "giving concrete form to the role of the party in the changes that are taking place in the country. We have to know how party members should behave in a situation in which there is increased democracy in the party while preserving democratic centralism. We also have to put an end to the myth of the infallibility of the party apparatus."

Similar views are expressed by the party members whose statements appear in the 5 January edition. It is suggested that the second part of the plenum should involve a "fundamental discussion on the tasks and methods of party activity under new conditions, and this should also be reflected in the resolution." Another interviewee points to the need for the party leadership to be "more sensitive to our calls and to respond to our suggestions and criticisms. This is necessary because the opposition continues to take up our proposals and express them as their own. How can we be at the head of change in this situation?"

The question of reorganizing the party in line with the underlying direction of the reforms as a whole is raised in the statements carried on 6 January. It is pointed out that "the new model of the party should take account of entirely new conditions, that is, democracy, political pluralism, and the liberalization of the economic sphere," and for this to happen "the primary party organization must obtain full sovereignty." A commune party committee secretary adds: "Economic structures are being decentralized, and in the wake of this, there should be a decentralization of the party, so that it adapts to life's current realities."

Central Committee, Warsaw Party

AU1001110989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jan 89 p 11

[Report by Maria Olszewska: "Party Discussions: We Must Set Out a Path That Will Not Let Us Down"]

[Text] A task of fundamental importance awaits us in the second part of the 10th Central Committee Plenum: We have set out a path that will take us further along the way toward socialism. It must be a path that will not let us down. It cannot, at some point in the future, turn out to be wrong, inappropriate with respect to the course of events, which was the case in the past. Today, we do not have time for mistakes. What sort of path should it be? We know without a doubt that it must be a path that will always lead us toward improvement in the lives of working people. However, it cannot be subject to any restrictions that would make it impossible to modify it in line with the progress that is made and with changes in the domestic situation and in the world as a whole. It must be set out in a flexible manner, so that it always suits the needs that it serves.

That is what Piotr Zaremba, a member of the PZPR Central Committee and an employee of the Warsaw Railway Terminal, said at yesterday's, 6 January, meeting between representatives of the central party authorities, PZPR deputies, and the Warsaw party community. On this occasion the monthly meeting served as a continuation of the discussion that is taking place in the Warsaw party organization on the subject of the Politburo theses for the 10th plenum. The discussion is very broad in its scope and is taking place in primary party organizations, various communities, and at meetings sponsored by plant echelons, and district echelons right up to the voivodship level.

Before going off to attend the second part of the plenary session, Warsaw members of the Central Committee will familiarize themselves with the opinions, suggestions, and proposals made during the discussion in order to convey them to the highest party forum. They will also express some of their own opinions at the session. Here are some of the views that were formulated during yesterday's meeting. (The versions have not been authorized).

Wieslaw Gemz, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Zoliborz district committee said: "The discrepancy that is emerging between the enthusiastic tone of commentaries on the new government's actions—something that is particularly evident in the mass media—and the everyday reality of our lives is disturbing. After all, things have not improved for us yet—life is difficult—and it will only possible to judge the effectiveness of these actions that are being taken after a period of time has elapsed. The public sees the tone of these commentaries as being out of tune with reality. We have had quite a few opportunities to convince ourselves of this during meetings with party members, at accountability meetings, for example.

"I was told bluntly that 'the state is a swindler' following the latest actions of the General Savings Bank, which were perceived by those who have modest savings as being directed against them and as making those who are richest richer. Differences in standards of living are becoming increasingly greater, and people see no prospect of this trend being arrested. To what extent does the party leadership take account of this. I do not have an answer to that question, and as a member of the Central Committee and a party activist it is something that I am asked about. The joyful slogan 'Let's get rich' is linked to the government program, but is this a slogan for the worker, the institute employee, and the teacher? For the time being, we are bandying around general phrases. If we do not create real prospects for young people over the next few months, then we will not only lose their trust...."

Wladyslaw Fidzinski, Central Committee member and doctor: "The government is changing things quickly, but quickly does not always mean correctly. I have some reservations about what goes by the name of health service reform. Changes to the health service are said to have come into effect on 1 January; the pay and the financing systems are said to have been altered, but those people at whom the changes are directed do not feel this at all. We have to stop ourselves from making premature judgments, because this fund of enthusiasm will ultimately only harm the new government team and its program."

Jerzy Urbanski, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission: "The discrepancy that is arising between the economic situation and views that are being expressed about a rapid improvement is progressively undermining the confidence of the mass of members in the party aktiv. We cannot produce surprise decisions that place activists in a difficult position with respect to party members and leave them without an answer to vital questions.

"In my opinion, at the very least strange questions are being asked about the party today, and these questions are appearing within the party's own ranks. For example, it angers me to hear the question about whether the party should be present in the workplace and to hear the idea about a dual party system. These things are directed against the party itself; it creates an atmosphere of stress around it, gives rise to doubts among party members, and undermines faith in the justness of the party's own ideas. It is also difficult for me to speak with complete conviction in favor of a thesis which states that the 'party has lost many valuable members in the meandering course of events and it should be made possible for them to return honorably.' They left the party under various kinds of circumstances and for a great variety of reasons. In my opinion, those who left the party at a difficult time do not deserve any kind of honors. It is as if one were to say that those who remained loyal are somehow less valuable."

Speaking at the close of the meeting, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, said: "There are many questions for which we cannot find a clear-cut answer today. We have to take account of circumstances, the way in which events evolve, and our own strength. There is still a lot of bickering going on, and the tendency toward extreme views, which we cannot free ourselves from, does not promote stability. It is like a pendulum that goes from self-flagellation, assuming guilt for everything, assuming responsibility for every mistake to euphoria about the government's first decisions, before we even know what effect they are having. As the leading force in society, the governing party assumes responsibility for all areas, but it must clearly define exactly what 'piece of work it is taking in hand' and what it wants to achieve within a given period of time. This strengthens public confidence and enables our own capabilities to be used as effectively as possible."

Podlaska Organization, Orzechowski

AU1101121189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 89 p 3

[Report by Anna Pawlowska: "The Podlaska Viewpoint"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The members of the voivodship party committee, the voivodship control and auditing commission, and the 15-strong working consultative group in Biala Podlaska met together to formulate—on the basis of the debate on the Central Committee thesis, the speeches made during the first half of the 10th plenum, and the conclusions drawn from individual party consultations and accountability meetings, of which 30 percent have already taken place—a voivodship organization position for the Central Committee and to submit the "Biala Podlaska viewpoint" for its consideration. Actually, two documents were produced: one on the role of the party in the state and society and one on internal party affairs. [passage omitted]

Of course, the party was the main subject under discussion, and it was viewed from a great variety of angles. A representative of the younger generation and the local head of the youth organization said tersely that young people find the party "deadly boring." He then went on to say—something that is seldom heard from the lips of an activist in our youth movement—that young people by no means expect the authorities to engage in "charitable practices," as anyone who wants something of this kind can easily find it in church circles. He said that what he would like to see in general is the young left wing being treated seriously and not in a facade-like manner. This also applies to young people who are not party members and to those who are not necessarily organized, because that is precisely what the left wing is like today. [passage omitted]

The first suggestion, to bring forward the date of the 11th Party Congress, was formulated on the basis of the view that the theses for the 10th Central Committee Plenum already exceed the framework of the current congress resolution in terms of their content, and in light of the fact that it is being said that the theses only cover the beginning of the road. Support was expressed for this suggestion in other speeches, and it was included in the document describing the local party's position that will be conveyed to the Central Committee.

Cadre policy and the party's ruling bodies were also discussed. It was said that what was needed most of all were not "new people" but regular, honest party appraisals of party ruling bodies' members. It was said that the party's ruling bodies should set an example of "leaving honorably at the right time." Constant changes in the Central Committee's stance on various national and economic matters, which is something that gives rise to mistrust, was also discussed. [passage omitted]

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, who attended the meeting, said that it was too much to expect the decisions adopted by 10th Central Committee Plenum to solve every problem, dispel all doubts, and provide an answer to every question. An important aspect of the decisions that can already be appreciated today is that these decisions are being worked on by the entire party at, among other things, meetings such as the one in Biala Podlaska. This is the only path leading to the attainment of the minimum amount of mental discipline in the party that is so necessary at a time of fundamental structural changes and intellectual reassessments. [passage omitted]

Party Plenum Subject, Dates Set for 16-17 Jan

LD1101203189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Excerpt] The party in change, changes in the party—this is the subject of consultative meetings before the second part of the 10th plenum, announced for 16 and 17 January. [passage omitted]

PZPR Politburo Discuss Economic Plan

LD1101215989 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—The PUWP CC Political Bureau January 10 examined the conditions and problems of implementing the plan of consolidation of the national economy forwarded at the 8th CC plenum and a package of government plans stemming from it.

The Bureau voiced its support for government's reformatory actions and their radical and dynamic character. They create a favourable social climate and strengthen hopes for the improvement of the situation.

The most important tasks today include progress in balancing the economy, and especially the market, and curbing inflation.

The Bureau focused on threats that may occur in the national economy this year, ones signalled by the CC Commission for economic policy, economic reforms and employees' self-management.

The meeting deemed it necessary for the government to examine the commission's proposals, especially those concerning the increase of supply of goods to the market, possibilities to reduce the inflation gap and budget deficit and to strengthen the Polish zloty.

The rate of improving the pay relations in the economy also calls for examination.

The Bureau discussed preparations for the second part of the 10th CC plenary session scheduled for January 16-17.

The meeting decided to convene the 3rd All-Poland Theoretical and Ideological Conference on February 2-4.

Sekula Holds Economic News Conference

AU1101102289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[PAP report: "The Economy Is Gaining Its Rights—Ireneusz Sekula's Meeting With Journalists"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] RZECZPOSPOLITA: The economy should be marked by freedom, equality, and competition. What practical possibilities of competing do you see in an economy where three-quarters of the producers are monopolists?

[Sekula] As far as the process of applying competition to the national economy is concerned, it is impossible to decree this competition or implement it overnight. However, this process is commencing, and the influence exerted by freedom and equality will stimulate and consolidate it. There will be more economic units. They will all receive equal treatment. They will enter the same market, and produce the same goods or range of goods for the same market. Therefore, by the nature of things, they will compete against each other.

As far as "antimonopolistic" action is concerned, there is of course the Combatting of Monopolistic Practices Act, but people have not been bold enough to use it. We will do so much more boldly, and apply it especially to those monopolists whom it will be possible to break down into smaller units. Such decisions have already been made. Many enterprises were divided in this way in 1988, ones which were either monopolists outright, or only held a monopoly over a given branch of the market.

But neither of these solutions will enable us to eliminate every monopolist. There are also possibilities of competition by means of foreign trade. We envisage a very dynamic growth in exports and imports. On the one hand, these will permit a much better supply situation for the Polish market, and on the other hand, in line with the availability of credits, they will provide the Polish economy with goods and services that may present certain competition for Polish monopolists. In this way, the monopolists will be compelled to calculate their prices differently, improve the quality of their work, accelerate production, and so on.

But this is a process that has only just begun, a process that extends competition to the Polish economy. It is bound to take several years to complete it. Another issue is to abolish those monopolists who have become institutionalized, as it were; not because of the size of their production, but because we have grown accustomed to the fact that certain goods or services should be provided by only one enterprise or institution. The best example is banks. Nine commercial banks were created on 1 January, and soon there will be another nine. Again, this permits people to choose which bank offers the most favorable financial terms. It will be the same with procurement, which has been ruled by a monopoly so far.

Together, all this means an expansion of those sectors of the economy in which competition is also expanding. There will also be safeguards so that no competing enterprise poses a threat to the others. The necessary legislation exists. This is certainly a process that will take many years, but its effects are increasingly noticeable from one month to the next. [passage omitted]

Central Committee Secretary Czarzasty Interviewed

AU1201122989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Zygmunt Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary, by Anna Pawlowska: "The Will and the Strength Exist"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Pawlowska] We are going through a period in which the party is viewed very critically. Society is blaming the party for shortcomings in everyday life. Opposition circles point to the party as a source of inefficiency and incompetence. The party is dissatisfied with itself. In light of this, what did you feel on assuming your new duties as a Central Committee secretary?

[Czarzasty] I assumed my duties believing that there are great unexploited possibilities in the party, and exploiting these possibilities does not require a miracle, but the removal of the burden of old habits and ideas that continue to weigh on us, and requires that we see the country and the world as it is today, instead of adhering to a reality that no longer exists. As for criticism, criticism can be disabling or can provide a stimulus. Besides, an increase in criticism can be considered a sign that the party is changing, and it belies the view that socialism cannot be reformed and shows that the party is seeking to be the guarantor of reforms and socialism. After all, one does not criticize the weak and the old. There is dissatisfaction with the party within the party itself, dissatisfaction with the party's influence, its position in society, and the degree to which its actions are effective. However, this is—or at least can be—an incentive to make further essential changes in the party.

[Pawlowska] However, is the dissatisfaction really accompanied by a desire for change?

[Czarzasty] I would not be able to tell you how widespread it is and in what part of the party it is fully conscious, but there is proof that it exists. It is not true that the party is not changing. The 10th Central Committee Plenum is certainly going to provide a stimulus for further exploration. However, the changes that have been made have gone so far that orders and timetables have ceased to be an effective instrument for influencing the party. The desire for reform, which is becoming increasingly conscious, must gain the upper hand and win out in every party group, in every echelon, and in every organization. I would simply say that this must happen to every one of us, as its members. I am convinced that this is possible and attainable.

[Pawlowska] Although the will exists, is there sufficient strength to achieve this?

[Czarzasty] Definitely, and the party is not the only source. There is also society, which tells us every day that what it wants above all is development and peace. Without fundamental, political and economic institutional changes, it is impossible to satisfy these wishes. Experience teaches and warns us that a party that does not want to satisfy social wishes condemns itself to failure. So, we cannot lack the strength needed to make changes in the party that would enable the party to transform public life. New people are coming to us, including many young people. The offer that the party can make to various restless people is not just something for show; that is how we are bolstering our strength.

[Pawlowska] It is said that the apparatus clings most fiercely to the old ways of doing things.

[Czarzasty] More often than not, that is something that is said by people who have never met a member of the party apparatus closeup. I myself am a member of that apparatus, so it would not be right for me to sing my own praises. All I can do is repeat an obvious truth, namely, that a modern party cannot function without an apparatus. A less obvious truth that I could add to this is that giving the party a broader social character and giving equal rights to the party's primary organizations has nothing in common with displacing the apparatus. It is not the apparatus that bureaucratizes the party, but an ossified party in which routine prevails that bureaucratizes the apparatus, and it does so because it needs officials and people for ceremonial functions. The party is changing and we, its functionaries, are changing with it. Sometimes we change at the same time as it does and, it is true, too slowly. We also have to speed up changes and make them more radical. However, the processes taking place in the party itself can be the only natural source of change. A bureaucratized apparatus in which there is excessive routine cannot maintain itself in a party that keeps in touch with people and is receptive, able to listen to other people's arguments and defend its own, and effectively address the community's problems. A party that retires into its own shell is angry at society and entrenched in fixed and "the only right" positions and will not be roused by even the most reform-minded apparatus.

[Pawlowska] However, it was easier to experiment in Slupsk than in your new post...

[Czarzasty] Why? In Slupsk we had a lot of will and some strength, but without the consent and support of the party leadership there would have been no Slupsk experiment. At most there would have been willful violations of statutory principles with all the consequences that this entails. I am very much attached to the Slupsk experiment, but it has never even occurred to me to make it the rule for my 48 colleagues in the 48 remaining voivodships (it is my firm belief that the Slupsk experiment will be continued). However, I do not believe in any universal recipes. We do not need rules to effect essential changes to the party, but real freedom of choice regarding ways and means of conducting party activity, in order to find the most effective ones for organizing social activity in every community. This freedom cannot be rationed out in equal amounts to the 49 voivodships, it must penetrate through to every primary party organization. An organization that cannot make use of this freedom will fail, but thousands of others will definitely be winners.

Military Daily on Downing of Libyan Planes

AU1101194389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Jan 89 p 2

[Colonel Jerzy Markowski commentary: "Gun Diplomacy Yet Again"]

[Text] Really, one could have expected this. The only question was, where and when. The shooting down of two Libyan Mig-23's on a routine reconnaissance flight over the international waters of the Mediterranean has partly answered the above question, though it has to be admitted that arrogant military action by U.S. Armed Forces that ignore international law and the UN Charter are causing increasing concern even among U.S. allies. In this case, it could turn out to be the beginning of a bigger military "action."

Hunting for pretexts—that is the best way to describe what happened on the line of contact between the United States and Libya during the days preceding the shoot downs. We still have not received enough information to enable us to judge whether the Libyan aircraft really did provoke the American F-14's to attack. However, there is not the slightest doubt that the American Government has had a clearly anti-Libyan disposition for years. In April 1986 American accusations that Libya was backing terrorist groups like Abu Nidal [Sabri al-Banna] led to a raid on Libya and the bombing of Benghazi and Tripoli. The main purpose of such attacks, the elimination of Libyan leader Colonel M. al-Qadhdhafi, was revealed.

The current activities, fueled by American accusations that Libya is attempting to produce chemical weapons, show that the United States has not only failed to abandon its adventurist plans vis-a-vis that country, including the killing of Al-Qadhdhafi, but is also repeating previous "gun diplomacy" scenarios; if one compares the previous development of events to the present one, the two appear almost identical. Both involve a concentration of large naval forces off the Libyan coast belonging to the U.S. Sixth Fleet, which is permanently based in the Mediterranean, including aircraft carriers and landing craft. In such cases, military force is backed by additional units. Therefore, an armada consisting of the super aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt" and 12 warships left Norfolk last Friday, as a result of which U.S. naval potential in the Mediterranean was augmented by two aircraft carriers, four cruisers, 6 frigates-destroyers, and about 4,000 naval personnel. In the context of the development of the situation, asking what the purpose of this was is not at all unjustified. All this accumulated potential is enough to provide a show of strength.

Thus, the warnings by the press agency JANA that the Americans were preparing attacks on Libyan economic targets in January did not come out of the blue, especially because Tripoli had officially invited the Americans to inspect the Rabitah chemical plants that were becoming operational, and Washington rejected Libya's offer, as if it were not interested in establishing the truth. This only shows that the new American campaign against Libya is taking place regardless of everything. It is difficult to forecast what the next steps will be, but what has already happened is enough to raise the pressure in this region.

The U.S. "gun diplomacy" is clearly running against the tide of international trends and efforts to alleviate and eliminate tension wherever it occurs. Leaving aside the reasons for this action and its justification, one must say that the use of military force in solving today's conflicts is an anachronism, for no one who talks of peace will praise the use of armed force as a tool of politics. That is the essence of today's new political thinking. Is it not possible to resolve these issues without aircraft and bombs? International society has established enough resources to prevent a use of force and resolve issues without force. However, the United States is not very keen to use these resources.

After all, one has to view the shooting down of the Libyan aircraft in a wider context, in the context of the general situation in the Mediterranean. These issues ceased to be bilateral ones a long time ago, especially when one of the sides is a superpower. An escalation of action could lead to a loss of control over the development of events, and we all know the danger of that. Countries in the East and in the West are trying to abandon the course of confrontation. Let us hope that they are doing this together with, and not without, the United States, for the sake of the Libyans and the rest of mankind.

FRG's Kohl Cited on Relations, Visit Plans

LD1001234789 Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn, Jan 10—Referring to the Monday statement by FRG's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Chancellor Helmut Kohl told "DIE WELT" (Wednesday issue) there were no concrete plans concerning his possible visit to Poland. He stressed he was interested in intensifying and improving the relations with Poland and added the negotiations in the coming weeks would show how this can be connected with his Polish visit.

Kohl's statement appeared after Genscher had told newsmen in Paris last Monday that Chancellor Kohl was to pay a visit to Poland this year. He added that an official visit to Bonn by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski would probably take place the coming March.

PRC Supports Announcement of Arms Reduction

AU1101101089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 89 p 6

[Report by Krystyna Szelestowska, Beijing permanent correspondent: "The Chinese on Reducing the Polish Army's Numerical Status"]

[Text] The Thursday [5 January] issue of RENMIN RIBAO has reported Polish Defense Minister Florian Siwicki's announcement to reduce outlay for the Armed Forces and defense, which has already resulted in a reduction of 15,000 men in the Armed Forces, together with, says the paper, many tanks and combat aircraft.

The interview given by the Polish minister of national defense has caused a great amount of interest in China, where the latest changes in our country and the decisions taken by the Rakowski government are being carefully followed. The Polish Army reductions have been welcomed here, especially because China, with a population of over 1 billion, has reduced the size of its own Army by 1 million men in recent years, and many military production enterprises have switched to civilian production.

RCP Honors Elena Ceausescu on Birthday

Award Decreed

AU1001121989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jan 89 p 1

["Resolution-Decree by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and by the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania on Awarding the Supreme Title of Honor 'Hero of the Socialist Republic of Romania' to Comrade Elena Ceausescu"]

[Text] As a token of great appreciation for the longstanding activity carried out in the revolutionary workers movement for social and national liberation, for achieving the Romanian people's aspirations for progress and well-being, and for implementing the targets of the revolution and socialist construction on Romanian soil;

For the noteworthy contribution to formulating and implementing the party's and state's domestic and foreign policy, to the substantiation and application of the plans and programs for the homeland's socioeconomic development, to strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty, to increasing Romania's prestige in the world, and to the greater affirmation of the aspirations for peace and cooperation of the Romanian people;

For her tireless and comprehensive activity dedicated to increasing the contribution of scientific research, education, and culture; to implementing the great targets of socialist construction; and devoted to the sustained promotion in all areas of the most modern achievements of the scientific-technical revolution for the benefit of man, his well-being and happiness, and in the service of life, peace, and the prosperity of nations and understanding among peoples;

As a token of the party's and people's profound homage and great gratitude for her revolutionary and patriotic activity in the service of the homeland's progress and prosperity;

And on her birthday and for her longstanding revolutionary activity;

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Decide and decree:

Only article—The supreme title of "Hero of the Socialist Republic of Romania" is awarded to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council of Science and Education.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

PEC Sends Letter

AU1001122189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jan 89 p 3

["Letter of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee Addressed to Comrade Elena Ceausescu" on her birthday]

[Text] Much Esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu: On your birthday, a day of great rejoicing for our nation, and in honor of your long revolutionary activity, we extend to you—from the bottom of our hearts and in an enthusiastic unity of thought and feeling with the whole nation—warmest congratulations and wishes for health, happiness, and many fruitful years full of satisfaction and achievements, together with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great hero among the heroes of our ancient fatherland, ardent patriot and revolutionary, brilliant shaper of history, great founder of a new country, and visionary leader of Romania's unflinching march forward along the road of socialism, toward communism.

On this great celebration, we, along with all the sons of our fatherland, would like to pay you ardent homage and express our most profound sentiments of esteem, praise, gratitude, and high regard for your long and heroic activity within the ranks of our glorious Communist Party, in the self-denying and resolute struggle waged in a revolutionary spirit during the great class battles against fascism and war, for the cause of the many, for the good and happiness of the country, for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction in our fatherland, and for Romania's progress toward ever brighter peaks of progress and civilization.

Having joined from early youth the ranks of our glorious Communist Party, you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, were shaped and tested by the hard school of the revolutionary struggle waged by society's most advanced forces and by the broad people's masses against the unjust bourgeois-landlord system, against exploitation, fascism, and war, for social and national freedom, for the fulfillment of the people's aspirations for progress and well-being, and for the construction of a better and more just system in Romania. Having fulfilled many important tasks entrusted to you by the party, you carried out—in those difficult years of terror and persecution—a steady and fearless activity to mobilize and involve the young generation, women, and workers in the struggle to defend democratic civic rights and freedoms, eliminate social oppress, achieve full equality of rights among all the country's citizens, and ensure the integrity and independence of the fatherland. Even then, you showed high qualities of revolutionary militant and ardent patriot, the features of a communist of high moral standards, who serves with exemplary devotion the noble cause of the workers class, of the people, and of the

Communist Party as well as the ideals for well-being and progress of the whole nation. There are many memorable pages in the history of our fatherland and party which depict the brilliant revolutionary activity you have carried out, with peerless bravery, to unhesitatingly fulfill the highly responsible tasks entrusted to you by the part at decisive moments of it struggle. Such a page of bright revolutionary daringness, steadfastness, and heroism in our national history is the great May Day 1939 antifascist and antiwar workers demonstration in which you played a decisive role, along with the much esteemed and beloved leader of our party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Likewise, the entire party and people highly value your active and direct presence in the country's political life during the new era opened up by the August 1944 antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. Showing the same work energy and self-denial and the same qualities of communist and militant patriot, you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, have carried out a steady political, ideological, and organizational activity within the party and the revolutionary youth and women's organizations and fully participated in the struggle to democratize the country, to win and consolidate the political power of the workers class, and to fulfill the targets of the socialist revolution and construction.

The brilliant qualities of eminent revolutionary militant—namely combativeness, firmness, and heroism—that you have strongly shown during the great class battles waged as well as your outstanding qualities as scientist and scholar with a great talent for innovative and visionary thinking and with an unequalled work energy—qualities that you have used in the service of the Romanian people's great aspirations—fully asserted themselves in the period of great constructive upsurge opened up by the Ninth RCP Congress. During this period of broad and profound revolutionary changes inaugurated by that historic communist forum, you have always been at the head of all actions initiated and carried out by our party and by RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to promote a new and profoundly revolutionary spirit in the entire work of socialist construction and to creatively apply overall truths and the principles of scientific socialism to concrete conditions and realities prevailing in our country. In the huge and tireless activity devoted to Socialist Romania's development and the people's well-being and happiness, you have brilliantly proved—during working visits throughout the country, at meetings with working people from all spheres, and on the occasion of various missions of peace and cooperation throughout the world—your high vocation as politician and front-ranking party-state militant. You have asserted yourself in the whole nation's awareness as a prominent personality of our political and statal life and of the Romanian science and culture.

As a token of high regard for and recognition of the high qualities you have shown in all your activity, the party and the people have entrusted you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, with such important functions as member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education. In the fulfillment of all these duties, you have acted and continue to act with high revolutionary spirit and exemplary devotion for the victory of socialism and communism in our beloved fatherland. We are all aware of and highly value the priceless contribution you have made and continue to constantly make to working out and implementing the party-state domestic and foreign policy, substantiating and implementing the plans and programs for the country's socioeconomic development; developing science, education, and culture; raising our socialist fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization; strengthening our country's independence and sovereignty; raising Romania's prestige in the world; and strongly asserting the Romanian people's strivings for peace and cooperation.

Using as guidance the party secretary general's thesis of priceless theoretical and practical value, according to which socialism and communism can only be built on the basis of the latest achievements of human creation, you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, have worked and continue to work in a spirit of high responsibility to ensure that the Romanian science and culture are registering a comprehensive development on modern bases and that they become an ever stronger material force of our social progress and of the efforts to broaden all the people's horizons of knowledge as well as an essential element of socialist construction in our fatherland. You have the great merit of having organized, in a totally new concept, the entire scientific research activity, on the basis of the Ninth RCP Congress guidelines. You have led and coordinated with great competence the activity of our country's strong detachment of scientists and guided it along the road of intensively developing and modernizing production; extending the energy and raw material base; better utilizing national resources; raising labor productivity, quality, and efficiency; and promoting technological progress in the entire economy, in full accordance with the requirements of the new scientific-technical and agrarian revolution and of the vast process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Brilliant scientist and scholar of great world renown, animated by a strong revolutionary spirit of thinking and action and endowed with an outstanding ability of understanding and anticipating future requirements, you are also showing an untiring concern with completing your own impressive scientific work, which enriches and improves the accumulated knowledge in one of the most important fields of our national economy, namely chemistry, thus increasing the international prestige and authority of the Romanian science.

Always acting in a highly innovative spirit, with the erudition and competence of a great scientist and intellectual, you have carried out along the years a research activity of impressive scope and outstanding level, which took concrete shape in important specialized works, which came to everybody's attention thanks to their great scientific importance and broad practical usefulness in various economic sectors; these works were translated in the main world circulation languages and were published in many countries. Your vast and remarkable activity of great scope and authority enjoys high regard and unanimous recognition everywhere, a fact which is tellingly proven by the many academic distinctions and titles awarded to you by prestigious scientific and educational forums throughout the world. All these admirable achievements entitle us to affirm with legitimate pride and profound satisfaction that your brilliant activity and virtues of ardent researcher and scholar concerned with further expanding the frontiers of human knowledge are inseparably linked with the assertion of the Romanian scientific genius in the world and with the consistent promotion of scientific cooperation, to the exclusive benefit of man, of the nations' development, and of peace and understanding among peoples.

In the high tasks entrusted to you, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, you have made, and continue to make, a most important contribution to developing, improving, and modernizing all grades of the Romanian education, so that the school can ensure the complex process of the country's socioeconomic development and train cadres with a thorough professional and specialized knowledge, with broad cultural horizons, and with an advanced materialistic-dialectical concept about world and life, cadres that are true new men of our daring era of socialist and communist aspirations and fruitful achievements.

Likewise, everybody values your outstanding contribution to developing the national art and culture, to guiding and successfully unfolding the great mass competition of the "Song to Romania" national festival of work and creation, to further enriching the people's intellectual life, and to shaping and educating the new and advanced man of our socialist society.

Thanks to your direct and most important contribution to unflinchingly implementing the party policy in the intellectual sphere, today our fatherland has an advanced science, education, and culture, which serve the country's comprehensive progress and are guided, more than ever before, by the great and eternal values of socialist humanism and by the highest ideals and aspirations of the Romanian people.

Constantly concerned with the need to increasingly assert science as a permanent means of dialogue and communication among nations—thus increasing the responsibilities currently devolving on all scientists and men of education and culture in building a better and more just world of peace, free from the danger of a destructive nuclear war, and in strengthening understanding and solidarity among nations—you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in your quality as chairman of the Romanian national committee "Scientists and Peace," have consistently worked, in a spirit of profound humanism, to strengthen cooperation with organizations of scientists throughout the world in the struggle to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament, so that the wonderful achievements of the human genius should no longer serve destruction and war, but rather the safeguarding of peace and of the values of human culture and civilization and the defense of the fundamental right of all people and nations everywhere to life and to free and dignified development. This brilliant activity that you are conducting in the spirit of our overall party-state foreign policy and of guidelines reiterated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu from the rostrum of last November's great forum of revolutionary workers democracy is unanimously valued and finds a profound response in the awareness of our people, of scientists and scholars everywhere, and of all nations, thus clearly emphasizing the highly humanistic features of the Romanian science.

Your entire activity, which harmoniously blends the scholar-citizen's vocation for scientific creation with the eminent communist militant's ardor for revolutionary struggle, represents for all of us a bright example of boundless devotion to the party's cause and to our socialist nation's flourishing and development and increasingly inspires us in the efforts to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP and the mobilizing appeals made by our great leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in his brilliant speech to the joint meeting of the RCP Central Committee plenum, the democratic bodies, and other mass and public organizations.

Inspired by the noblest possible thoughts, on this great holiday for the whole country and people, we want to express our sentiments of profound esteem and regard and we wholeheartedly extend to you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, ardent wishes for long and happy life, full of great achievements and satisfaction, and much health and work energy, so that you can further contribute, alongside the tested revolutionary and brilliant leader of the party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the progress of our independent, free, and dignified fatherland along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and achieving the golden dream of all mankind, namely Communism.

With most profound sentiments of gratitude and comradely affection, we wish you and our beloved leader, from the bottom of our hearts, the traditional "Happy New Year!"

Increased Investments in Power Industry Noted

AU1101173689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/1/1989—In socialist years the investments in the Romanian power industry have rapidly increased—from 0.3 billion lei in 1950 to

1.2 billion lei in 1960 and 8.84 billion lei in 1965. Through the materialization of these investments the electrical energy output grew 16.1 times in 1965 as compared to 1938, the peak economic year of prewar Romania.

The programme of developing the energy base, adopted by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), brought about a deep change in both the scope and the structure of the power industry. At the end of 1975 the investments in power industry topped 19 billion lei, that is about 14 percent of the total investments in industry, while the installed power—11,578 MW in comparison to 3,258 MW in 1965.

During the last four quinquennia, the installed power of the electrical power stations grew from 3,258 MW to 19,576 MW, while the electrical and thermopower output saw a dynamics of 8.3 percent every year. Great changes were also made in the structure of the installed power. The share of the high-powered output units—of over 200 MW—has permanently grown, contributing to a 13.3-percent reduction in the production of 1 kwh in the aforementioned period.

The hydroelectrical industry has also known an intensive development. At the end of the eighth decade 25 percent of Romania's hydro-electrical potential was harnessed as compared to only 1 percent in 1960. One hundred hydropower stations were built after 1965, the installed hydroelectric power increased almost 10 times over that period (from 461 MW to 4,421 MW).

The hydropower resources were best used by building a series of electrical works on the main rivers (Bistrita, Olt, Siret, etc) as well as two large hydropower stations on the Danube.

The programme of research and development in the power industry over 1981-1990 stipulates actions aiming that at the end of this decade Romania produce almost 85 times more electrical energy than in 1938. In the current five-year period the share of the extractive industry and the electrical and thermal power industry is of 29 percent of the total investments. Nowadays, 45 electrical power stations (with several units of various powers) are under construction, some of them in an advanced mounting stage—such as the thermopower stations Progresul Bucharest, Craiova-2, Oradea-2, Suceava, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Arad, Bacau, Brasov or the hydropower stations at Frunzaru, Draganesti, Voila, Vistea, Hateg, Turceni. The works at the nuclear-electric plant in cernavoda advance at a rapid pace drawing near the time for the tests of the first 700-MW power unit.

Ion Stoian Attends Palestinian Reception

AU1001193389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/1/1989—On the 24th anniversary of the day of the Palestinian revolution the charge d'affaires ad interim of the State of Palestine in Bucharest, Isma'il Ahmad Muhammad, gave a reception on Tuesday.

In the attendance were Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, deputy heads of section, executives in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defence, representatives of other ministries and central institutions, generals and officers.

Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest.

Officials Present Condolences to Japanese Envoy

AU1001175889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1723 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/1/1989—In connection with the death of the emperor of Japan, Hirohito, condolences were offered at the residence of that country's ambassador to Bucharest on Tuesday, January 10.

Sincere condolences were conveyed on behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, of the State Council and of the Romanian Government. Feelings of deep compassion were also expressed to the bereaved family.

The condolences were offered by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council, Neculai Ibanescu, deputy prime minister, Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction, Nicolae Vaidescu, minister of electric enegineering industry, Olimpia Solomonescu, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

A minute's silence was observed in front of the late emperor's black-edged portrait by the delegation who entered their names in the book of condolence.

Orlandic Submits Resignation to LCY CC

LD1201110989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Marko Orlandic, LCY Central Committee member, sent a letter this morning to the LCY Central Committee, informing it that he was resigning to the "membership in the LCY Central Committee and in its Presidium and to all the other functions and duties he had in this capacity."

In his message to the Montenegrin LC Central Committee yesterday he announced his resignation. In today's letter he proposes to have his resignation publicly considered at the next session of the LCY Central Committee, when he would explain the reasons behind his resignation in detail.

Montenegro Secretaries' Resignations Accepted

LD1101215189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, which is still going on, members of this party forum are to vote on the collective resignation of its Presidium.

The Presidium is made up of: President Dr Miljan Radovic, Secretary Savo Sekaric, Budimir Barjaktarevic, Vesna Karadzic-Perovic, Dr Risto Kalibarda, Dr avdul Kurpejovic, and Spiro Mitrovic.

At this morning's session the Presidium accepted the resignations of Executive Secretaries Ilija Despotovic, Bosko Djukic, Milovan Djurickovic, Dr Isak Kalpacina, Mladjena Kovacevic, and Janko Tomcic.

LC Accepts Presidium's Resignation

LD1101201889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2010 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session this evening the Montenegro LC Central Committee accepted the resignation of its Presidium. The voting was public and the resignation was accepted with no opposing vote.

Caretaker Presidium Group Elected

LD1101234989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2139 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, January 11 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro this evening adopted the collective resignation of its Presidency, handed in today to meet the demand of more than 120,000 people who gathered yesterday and today at a protest rally in Titograd, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

A seven-member working group elected this evening, will perform the functions of the Presidency until a new presidency is elected. The group will be headed by Zorica Kovacevic.

A decision was taken that an early congress of the Montenegrin Communists be held before the end of May 1989, at which a cadre renewal of the Montenegrin republican party leadership is to take place.

The Central Committee agreed with the intentions of Vidoje Zarkovic and Marko Orlandic, League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency members from Montenegro, to resign. A decision on the offered resignations will be taken by the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

In the debate, members of the Central Committee pointed out, among other things, that the resignation of the party leadership of Montenegro had been inevitable as a prerequisite for the stabilization of situation in this republic. Several speakers assessed as "impermissible" that the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd yesterday and today were not addressed by anyone from the republican leadership.

There were also disapprovals of Radovic's assertion that the people were taken to the streets by certain organized groups.

Radovic Addresses CC

AU1101182189 Titograd Domestic Service in Serbo-croatian 1703 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Speech by Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, at session of Montenegrin LC Central Committee held in Titograd on 11 January—live]

[Text] Comrades: It is unnecessary to explain the reasons for convening this extraordinary session of the Central Committee. We all know them already. We have said that the meeting of workers, students, youths, and citizens from all over Montenegro which began yesterday morning is still continuing. Their demands are also known. It is almost superfluous to say anything at the beginning, but allow me nevertheless to say a few things, running the risk that I will not say everything that suits the situation and the conditions under which this session is being held.

When everything is comprehended, when political passions cool down, the LC and its organs, scientific workers, and people are left to think about everything calmly, collect the facts and impressions, and pronounce their objective judgement.

It is up to us today to be as objective as possible and, as the political and the most responsible leadership in the republic, to make the most worthy and reasonable decisions, as far as we are able under these circumstances, because the fate and future of Montenegro are not in question, but what we say and agree on today will be of great importance for the LCY and the country as a whole.

These are in fact the reasons which led us to decide yesterday to hold a session of the Central Committee on 12 January. Our aim was to create enough opportunities for the session to be prepared as well as possible, and not something which tricks us into defending armchairs and into not hearing the demands of the people because of bureaucratic self-satisfaction.

For quite a long time now the dramatic economic and social situation in the republic has once again been culminating in mass political dissatisfaction. We must admit that the Montenegrin LC, and therefore we ourselves as its most responsible part, did not succeed in organizing more fruitful and resolute political action which had to accompany our correct political orientation; to mobilize even more our own forces, the not inconsiderable forces and opportunities that are available to us. Moreover, we would be far from the truth if we did not repeat even now that the economically justified demands of Montenegro and its associated labor, as some kind of cry for help, did not meet with the understanding of the federal organs and further afield in the country. In fact, this made our problems even more difficult and dramatic.

It is not [word indistinct] to reiterate everything that we have repeated who knows how many times about the seriousness of the economic situation and about how the number of workers and citizens and their families who get by as they know and can in order to live is increasing from day to day.

The worst thing of all is that almost all of us are indifferent to this assessment and that apathy and defeatism have taken over the ranks of the LC and [word indistinct] people. We really must recognize that our workers class has demonstrated a high level of consciousness, understanding, and patience, and it is quite normal that this has come to an end.

Second, in many ways we have an irregular situation in the country. I hope I do not get reproached, but we have been running in circles regarding some questions and things that are more than clear. We knew that national antagonism, all possible divisions and schisms, and national and nationalist passions that have been flourishing in our long-lasting economic crisis do not lead to anything good in this country. The economic crisis in Montenegro is much deeper and this is being paid for by much more serious consequences.

Montenegro has never had its own accumulation of capital but it had to look for it outside, either within the country or abroad. We have never been spared financial problems except during short periods after (?raising foreign) loans. This is where we stand today. We had to face the bitter reality as it is. It happened to be at the time when we are politically the most responsible for the total situation in Montenegro. However, this does not reduce our responsibility for the current situation, nor is anybody thinking of asking for political amnesty.

The most difficult thing is the fact that today Montenegro is in a political crisis which we have not had since the war. We have not had such schism in the Montenegrin LC since 1948. At that time we had a strong LCY and it was the foreign factor that was the cause of the schism. Today, there is a serious lack of unity within the Montenegrin LC concerning the most essential question: the method of realizing the LC's role, realizing the principle of democratic centralism in it, preserving a united LCY, as well as some essential issues concerning relations between the class and national elements, and the political position of the SR of Montenegro in Yugoslavia.

We all know what happened on 7 and 8 October in Titograd and Niksic. These were events which the Montenegrin LC had to face for the first time since its foundation. This is why it is not surprising that some mistakes were made during those events. There is a difference between the protest gatherings of citizens in October and today. While in October it was the social demands that were dominant, along with their political flavor, this time we are facing predominantly political demands.

The last 3 months were characterized by considerably greater political activities than in the past. We have informed you about it in detail and we discussed this at the last session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. Of course, nobody can dispute this, although these facts are occasionally overlooked, especially some of the results of the social policy.

However, it is more than obvious that neither what has been done nor what is being done is sufficient. In addition, it is a fact that the LC began to lose the battle much earlier, and that one could not make good in 3 months what had been omitted in the course of many years before. We cannot escape the assessment, however, that even in this period one could work in a much more organized and rational way, and nobody among us wants to escape it now.

Through a lengthy period, the LC was objectively in a position to direct its basic activities toward economic and social problems every day, so to speak, we were forced to deal with such problems. All the other things that are an inevitable product of the economic crisis remained chiefly to the side and on the outskirts of our activities and political actions.

To a great extent, what is happening now, not only has its roots in the economic and social spheres, but is precisely the product of unclarified political relations above all, of the fact that we do not bring actions to a conclusion, of the old neglect of ideological and political work, the neglect of ideological guidance and of the appropriate intensity and quality of the ideological and political actions, the product of the great and old disunity in the LCY that is obvious to us all, and recently the disunity in the LC of Montenegro, too.

We have never gone to the end in pursuing the essence of the conflicts and antagonisms, regional and other, that are present in Montenegro. This is now taking its revenge. I do not speak about this because of the past, but for the sake of the future of Montenegro.

This is also a consequence of obsolete methods in the LC's work, not only in Montenegro but also in the LCY in general. We have rested on the successes that the LCY achieved in the postwar development. In the LC of Montenegro, in a way, we have also been living off the old results for some time. We have not found the strength and we have not been able to feel the spirit of the new era sufficiently to refresh our theoretical thought, and to be the creators of new relations and social currents.

Although we have seen who the ideological adversaries of the LC are, we have not stood on the ideological front in a proper way. While we spared the ideological adversaries in the name of democracy, they strove to discredit us not only politically, but also morally, making use of frequently blanket assessments, fraud, and insinuations, and quasi-democracy. This, too, is a great lesson to the LC, and it should be a great lesson.

We must be aware that, in such murky times, all forces and all kinds of politics are in play, and that they all peddle and cover up their aims under the slogan: In the name of the people. If this is not seen, it is a case of complete political blindness.

In a situation in which the economy is experiencing a true financial collapse, when inflation swallows up and devalues overnight all the painful efforts of many years, when we are literally forced to close down factories, when lines multiply when shopping for cheaper bread and milk, political strings are being tightened to breaking point, (?people are deluded) and change their convictions, not knowing properly what will happen tomorrow.

Under such conditions it would be difficult to control the necessary political situation and the peoples' political mood even in much richer societies. This would be difficult even if we were all politically like-minded people, let alone when there is a situation in which a real propaganda war is being intensively waged against the Montenegrin LC, the SR of Montenegro, and their most prominent members for a long time, especially in the last few months following the events of last October. I hope that better days are ahead, and that, when the political dust settles, certain writers of some articles and their instigators would at least blush from shame and that the people will understand that the slogan, Down with authority, should have often been read as, We want authority, and that it is not a democratic dialogue or democracy that what I think, that is to say what those like me think is the only correct thing.

Many such things were addressed to this leadership recently. It is indeed silly to accuse us of wanting a schism between the workers class and the intelligentsia, that we do not have understanding for the workers' problems, that the youth and its leadership are confronted with the LC, and so forth.

The Presidium of this Central Committee did not want to find itself on the opposite side from the people, workers, students, and youth as it has often been one-sidedly said in the public. Our aim was that all political factors jointly find the most concrete and the most constructive solutions so that the serious economic, social, and political situation be overcome as soon as possible, rather than, as it has often been said, to preserve our armchairs.

The political obligation of the Presidium of the Central Committee is to tell the Central Committee, the party membership, and the wider public that the events that took place yesterday and today are not only the expression of a spontaneous reaction and dissatisfaction by workers, students, youth, and citizens, but that some groups were working jointly and in an organized way in several places in Montenegro and that from the very beginning they wanted to achieve what had in fact happened.

Considering the economic and social situation, and our obvious weaknesses, which are here, which have been and are present, this has obviously not been difficult to achieve.

Regarding the statement of the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee issued at its session yesterday, and the proposal that this session be held tomorrow, our aim was to, as the most responsible political organ in the republic, persevere in our stand that the serious problems which we are facing are to be solved within the system, this is to say within the statutory norms of the Montenegrin LC and the LCY, to ensure a regular situation and atmosphere in which it would be possible to make moves and decisions which would mean further progress and opening up of prospects which would not hinder but facilitate a more efficient functioning of the system and the LC's activities.

I am convinced that the aim of all honest people who gathered in Titograd yesterday and today, as well as of all people throughout Montenegro and the country, is a better future for Montenegro and for all those who live in it, a better future for Yugoslavia. I think that this has also been our motto and our main guiding thought.

The Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro firmly believes in the ability of the Communists and workers of Montenegro to turn to work and creativity, to separate truth from delusions, to guarantee a democratic outcome of all the procedures and the efficient solving of the exceptionally difficult problems that we are facing today and that we will face tomorrow.

We must concentrate all our forces on implementing full unity of ideology and action in the LC, on implementing the three reforms that are the only true and realistic chances of finding a way out of our crisis that has lasted several years, and on solving the Kosovo drama that is one of the main factors of the destabilization of Yugoslavia.

Only through the greater unity and cohesion of all progressive forces along the line of self-managing socialist development can we overcome the problems that have amassed and successfully join the modern world scientific, economic, and technological currents and the world division of labor.

Assessing that if the president of the Central Committee Presidium, its secretary, the members of the Presidency, and the executive secretaries would stay in office, this would make it even more difficult to overcome the critical situation in the republic, which could have unforeseeable negative repercussions for the country as a whole. The Central Committee Presidium at its session today unanimously decided to submit its irrevocable resignation to the Central Committee and to accept the resignation of its executive secretaries.

In this way, too, we wish to contribute to a quicker stabilization of the situation in the LC of Montenegro, in the SR of Montenegro, and in society as a whole.

At its previous session, the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro decided that the 10th Congress be held this summer or in the spring of 1990. Considering the situation that has arisen, the Presidium proposes that the 10th Congress of the LC of Montenegro be held at the end of May 1989, as an extraordinary congress. We also propose, because of the present situation, that the planned cadre renovation of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro be carried out at the next session that is to be held by the end of next week.

I wish to express my thanks to you for your cooperation to date, in my own name, in the name of the Presidium secretary, the members of the Presidium, and the executive secretaries, and I appeal for the further successful and constructive work of this Central Committee in implementing a unified policy of the LCY, that has always made its creative and constructive contribution.

Pancevski Addresses CC

AU1101204789 Titograd Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Speech by Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at session of Montenegrin LC Central Committee held in Titograd on 11 January—live]

[Text] I did not intend to speak since I expressed my views on all these issues at the session at which we discussed the events that took place in October. I changed my mind and decided to say something. I think that (?I am obliged to do this) so that this Central Committee knows what we are doing and what we should do in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Central Committee.

I would like to say that we have been carefully following the situation, events, and all relations within the workers class and other strata in Montenegro, particularly those events of 7 October and the events that took place yesterday and today.

We in the Presidium spoke about these issues on 3 occasions. This Central Committee and its Presidium provided much information. This enabled us to assess the situation in the SR of Montenegro. As far as the first Presidium's session is concerned, we issued a statement. The wider Yugoslav public and the Montenegrin public have been informed about it. They were also informed about the discussion concerning the current economic problems in Montenegro. We discussed them and adopted certain stands on them. These stands have also been made public.

Yesterday, we in the LCY Central Committee Presidium followed the course of events and what was happening in Titograd and beyond it. Today, we held an official session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium at which Comrade Vidoje Zarkovic, as instructed by Miljan Radovic, briefed the Presidium about everything that had taken place during the last 2 days. As Comrade Miljan Radovic also said, at that session Comrades Vidoje Zarkovic, Marko Orlandic and Slobodan Filipovic tendered their resignations to the Central Committee. The Presidium will propose that these resignations be discussed at a Central Committee session. This is a statutory obligation. This will be done at the next session of the Central Committee.

However, today I would like to inform this Central Committee that during today's discussion, which was partial [words indistinct] I mean to say not complete regarding the assessment of the events in Titograd, you particularly stressed and elevated on a much higher level the questions and difficulties which Montenegro is experiencing in its socioeconomic development and that they are, in contrast to other sociopolitical communities, the most expressed and most acute. I also think that the system which exists in our country to stimulate a more rapid development of the insufficiently developed republics and provinces, as well as the subsystem. If I may say so, concerning the consolidation of the economy and banks of the insufficiently developed republic and provinces, and which we (?endorsed) some 2 or 3 or 4 years ago, are not sufficient to cover all the liabilities of the Montenegrin economy and the problems that stem from this economic and social sphere, and thus an increase in pensions of our citizens in Montenegro and of course in other undeveloped republics and provinces, and that it is necessary in my view that a wider sociopolitical community expresses a greater understanding for resolving such amassed problems of the workers class.

Considering that discussions will be held in the Central Committee, I think that this question will be stressed again, and I believe that, through the relevant federal organs, as Miljan Radovic said, I think, we should establish some more concrete orientation in order to overcome these indeed difficult socioeconomic and social problems in Montenegro.

This is what I personally think should receive political verification. The relevant organs and the workers class, parts of the workers class, should express understanding for the problems in this republic. Moreover, today at the Presidium session we also concluded, although I was not there with Vidoje Zarkovic and the other comrades right to the end because I had to leave for here, that the questions which I have already spoken about, other wider political questions which arose in Montenegro and which are present in the LC as well as in some other parts of the LCY, that we will have to [words indistinct] discuss them in the LC Central Committee. The content will be, if I can say figuratively, the continuation of the discussion conducted at the 17th session although we have already set tasks for this at the 17th session itself because we think that all the problems that are present in Montenegro and the problems which were present in other parts of the country, especially the problems that arose after the 17th session, we think that we should really try to work out how to overcome these problems and not allow them to multiply and gain in their political weight.

This is why, comrades, I would like to add my little contribution by saying what I think about what has been happening here in Titograd and Montenegro in the last 2 days and what happened last October. I think that they are very important for our movement and for the LC of Montenegro and the entire LCY. I personally think that these problems should be approached from the perspective of total crisis being the trend in the country. I also think that two aspects of these problems are particularly important.

First, in my opinion the workers class has very clearly demonstrated its dissatisfaction with the current situation and we must deeply respect this. We must extremely seriously deal with the essence of this dissatisfaction. I think that the Montenegrin LC Central Committee is doing it by the very act of holding this discussion today.

In my view the workers class has had great patience with all the difficulties which it carries on its back and that it has demonstrated its understanding. I also think that we should all show even greater understanding for the problems of the workers class and, of course, greater patience and great involvement in resolving these problems and matters that are bothering the workers class.

This is why I think that it is more than necessary that the LC should adopt a positive approach by, of course, accepting the demands of the workers and by (?reassessing) its programs and content of its actions in this direction, and to act accordingly.

The workers' dissatisfaction, the warning of the class, carry in themselves great potential for changing the situation. The LC must rely on this class potential in order to make its own and total social activity more active. This is its historic chance to intensify its political action, to became a factor of transformation, and to revitalize its revolutionary ideas. This is its role.

I would also like to say that it is very important and that it is of enormous importance that the Montenegrin LC approaches in this way the entire analysis and concrete political assessments of events in Titograd in October and yesterday and today. I think that this has already been partly done today.

Second, I believe that it is necessary, comrades, that we critically and self-critically examine our work, our results, our contribution to the democratization of interparty relations, as well as the overall social relations. We must frankly say that the LC is passing through its own crisis. The crisis also concerns the model of leadership which leans on a well-advanced process of its own bureaucratization, on an increasing separation of the leadership from the workers class, on an absence of elementary self-criticism, on the federalization of the relations in the LCY, on making its truth absolute, and so forth.

The conference has defined the tasks connected with the transformation of the LCY itself. This platform is an appeal that we should finally face the serious defects in our work and the grave ideopolitical implications in this connection. In this context, but also in the context of our overall crisis, I must emphasize the question of responsibility. It is certainly very topical for all parts of the LC, including the Montenegrin LC Central Committee.

Is it possible for our position to be ideologically and politically acceptable if we insist on the cadre status quo? As the initial stage of the LC's transformation, we must carry out cadre changes, and I would call them a radical cadre renewal. It is not possible to make any sector of responsibility relative; here I have in mind the responsibility of the leadership above all. Nor is it possible to do so when we speak about objective or specific personal responsibility.

It is obvious that a part of the answer to the question of responsibility must be provided by the Central Committee of Montenegro, for I believe that this Central Committee (?wants to do it).

Responsibility must be treated within the framework of a further democratization of relations in the LCY, where the rule should finally prevail that accounts must be rendered for poor results, and on the other hand, responsibility and differentiation must be ensured to reduce the bureaucratization and dogmatism in relations in our society as a whole [words indistinct].

In this connection, the options in improving the situation are not (?numerous). In the political sphere, there is the matter of the indispensable need, on a democratic basis—I repeat, exclusively on a democratic basis—to create an atmosphere and to establish a consensus of all the forces of socialist orientation and the workers class on the fact that the way out of the crisis is well founded on the fundamental reform steps.

In this sense, the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro assesses all the aspects of the events in Titograd and adopts the decisions proposed, which will mean the creation of the optimum conditions for improving the situation and resolving the crisis.

In the name of these democratic relations, and precisely because of the need to further develop and enrich them, we certainly will not enter into a dialogue with nationalist and destructive forces. On the contrary, because of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, because of socialism, because of self-management, because of brotherhood and unity, and because of the equality of all our peoples and nationalities, the LC will resolutely settle accounts with these forces. I think that the LC must do this in all parts of the LCY, without any compromise, without any opportunism.

Therefore, comrades, I think that we have reached a stage of sobering up. This stage demands a more revolutionary spirit, (?it demands) more knowledge. But we must also shed everything that hampers and holds back the development of our socialist self-managing relations, and that leads to some delusions and obfuscations. Here I think that it is exclusively and solely the cadres that may overcome the present situation in which not only Montenegro but Yugoslavia in general find themselves.

Therefore I think that it is good—as I said a short time ago [words indistinct]—that this Central Committee will accept the proposals made by Miljan Radovic, for they are indeed in the interest of implementing the policy of the LCY and of Montenegro, and I think that they create the prerequisites for a turn to the better in the implementation of all these demands, for a better tomorrow.

Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Considers Presidency Resignations 13 Jan

LD1101212989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The line-up of the Montenegro Socialist Republic Presidency which resigned this morning is as follows: president—Dr Bozina Ivanovic and members: Radivoje Brajovic, Muharem Dizdarevic, Blazo Orlandic, Olga Perovic, Milutin Tanjevic, and Dr Miljan Radovic as an ex-officio member.

The Presidency was elected on 6 May 1986 with a 4-year mandate. The Presidency's resignation will be considered by delegates to the Montenegro Assembly at a session on 13 January.

Montenegrin Collective Workers Return to Duties

LD1201100989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—After 2 days and an entire night of protest and yesterday's genuine public rejoicing—which followed the fulfilment of all justified demands—the metal workers of the "Radoje Dakic" factory and the organizers of this, the largest and the longest people's protest meeting, returned this morning to their regular working duties.

In other Montenegrin collectives—whose workers also took part in the dramatic events on 10-11 January—regular production was resumed this morning. At the moment, apart from the cadre renewal, one of the most important tasks is to invest maximum efforts to raise production levels, since this is one of the most basic conditions for fulfilling workers' demands for improving their economic situation and their standard of living.

Montenegro Trade Union Leadership To Resign

LD1101182089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Council of the Montenegrin Trade Union Federation today decided to tender its collective resignation at the very next meeting of the council, by 16 January at the latest.

In contrast to today's resignations by the Presidency of the republic and the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, this act cannot be deemed to have been forced because the trade unions were not mentioned in the demands of the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd.

Members of the Presidium of the republican trade union organization fully supported the demands of the participants in the protest gatherings and assessed that the attitude of the two most senior republican leaderships—the state one and the party one—toward the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd and their demands, is, to say the least, imprudent.

Ljubljana Comments on Montenegro Events

AU1101184389 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Gojko Brvar commentary]

[Text] The Novi Sad model (?of radically) solving cadre policy has been fruitful in Titograd, too. Few people, except the Montenegrin leadership itself, (?felt that matters) calmed down in Titograd after the events of October.

There were more than enough warnings in the Montenegrin Central Committee Presidium, and the one before last meant a hammer blow to the head, so to speak. Momir Bulatovic, president of the University LC Conference, who was one of the central personalities in the events yesterday and today, bluntly told the Montenegrin politicians at a Central Committee meeting: All we want is that you exit from the political scene.

That he was not taken seriously was shown by the complacent inactivity of the highest party organ following that session and the obvious hope that help will come from the leadership of the LCY.

This (?happened, I stress) in the Montenegrin party as the most disciplined party [words indistinct] with the beating of the demonstrators in October, it clumsily gave another blow to Montenegrin pride. In short, (?all this) clumsiness and inconsistency of the Montenegrin leadership itself, to which unimaginative moves on the federal level were added, have slowly but surely dug the grave for the team that has ruled Montenegro.

Although the example or (?at least) the moral support of the Montenegrin northern neighbor cannot be avoided in this discussion, it nevertheless is a fact that the people's putsch in Titograd is a completely Montenegrin affair. It grew out of social dissatisfaction and was driven by the desire for revenge for sullied honor.

The new changes on the political map of Yugoslavia open up a number of questions, and cause justified worries on the following point: If this method of solving matters has been successful on two occasions, how great may be the desire of the protagonists to continue the populist settling of accounts outside the system's institutions?

If we agree to the frequently repeated thesis that you cannot move hidebound bureaucrats out of their offices in any other way, we consent to a double standard in political behavior.

Another basic question appears. If in accordance with the constitutional changes, the majority of organs of authority will be elected in direct secret elections from among several candidates, and in accordance with the statutes of sociopolitical organization, their leaderships will be elected in the same way, (?will) the crowds in the streets (?still be offered) the radical cadre political machinery? And another thing: What will the advocates of the latter, as the highest form of democracy, say when such democratic ire is turned against them?

Bucin Supports Montenegro SAWP's Stance

LD1101180389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY Nenad Bucin has sent a telegram to the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP, in which he stresses that he welcomes and supports the stances and intentions that the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP set forth at its session today. Bucin stressed: I am prepared to bear my share of the responsibility as a member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY for the situation in Montenegro.

I hereby support the demands of the working people and citizens of Montenegro for a thorough cadre renewal and consolidation in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, Nenad Bucin's telegram to the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP states.

Slovene Democratic Union Distributes Leaflets

AU1201113089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Slovene Democratic Union's Invitation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jan—In the last few days, the Slovene Democratic Union, which is currently being founded, printed and distributed all over Slovenia leaflets inviting people to apply for membership by signing a statement. The application form for the membership in the Slovene Democratic Union and the statement are printed on one side of the leaflet.

The statement stresses that the "Slovene Democratic Union is understood to be a movement which strives for democracy and political pluralism in Slov zbphkpz and that it is prepared to more actively participate in one of the 14 available spheres of its activity. These include among other things the mass media, defense policy, the theoretical problems of democracy, public polls, discussions concerning the constitution, and human rights. At the same time the leaflet is inviting people to attend the founding session planned to be held in the Cakar Center in Ljubljana on 11 January. The other side of the leaflet contains the program of this Union.

FEC Presidential Candidates Announced

LD1201091889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has chosen 6 of the 23 persons put forward as possible candidates for the new president of the Federal

Executive Council during preliminary consultations. They are Ante Markovic and Borisav Jovic, who were put forward by their own republics; and Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Kucan, Dusan Sinigoj, and Ante Milovic, who are not official candidates of their own republics.

The list was presented today by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at a session of the Presidium of the SAWP Federal Conference. Dizdarevic said that the SFRY Presidency believes that before elections in the SFRY Assembly the candidates should make public their views on implementing the economic reform, economic policy measures and, especially, how to unburden the economy, halt and cut inflation, increase economic production, and consolidate what has been achieved already.

Weekly TU Publication To Be Launched on 1 Feb

LD1101184589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The weekly RIJEC RADNIKA, published by the Trade Union Federation of Bosnia- Hercegovina will be launched on 1 February with a circulation of 15,000.

The main aim and task of the weekly is to inform the membership, organizations, and organs of Trade Unions about members' activities, results and shortcomings at work, and to initiate and stimulate trade union activity in line with the real interests, needs, and demands of the membership.

Kosovo Leaders Evade Responsibility for Situation

LD1101173689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 11 Jan 89

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, January 11 (TANJUG)—Three months after the statutory measure of warning pronounced by the top Yugoslav party leadership on the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee for its responsibility for the situation in Kosovo and an instruction on concrete ideo- political differentiation among its members, there is practically still no action in this regard in the troubled Yugoslav province.

Measures to determine the responsibility for the inability to prevent the maltreatment of Serbs and Montenegrins and halt their exodus from the province under pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists were also missing following a demand by the communists in Kosovo Polje for the disbandment of the Provincial Committee. Admittedly, the committee had earlier accepted the resignations submitted by eleven of its members, but had passed lightly over a serious criticism of its own conduct voiced on the occasion. The provincial party leadership remained unperturbed even after an "epidemic" of withdrawals from membership of the League of Communists among the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

What seems to be underway is a specific tactics of delay and watering down, along with obstinacy and the ignoring of decisions of the top Yugoslav party leadership, which last October declared the provincial party committee mainly responsible for the tragic situation in Kosovo.

In the meantime the Kosovo party leadership has started a process of cadre renewal, but has disregarded the demands for pinpointing individual responsibility and establishing its degree in each particular case, thus practically passing over the question of responsibility and putting it off for "better times."

Skopje Council Sentences Kumanovo Protestors

LD1101142389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Skopje, 11 January (TANJUG)—For provoking national, racial, and religious hatred, discord, and intolerance, the Skopje district court has sentenced five Albanians from Kumanovo. They, on 29 August of last year, were among the main organizers of hostile demonstrations in Kumanovo.

Liman Jasari (48) from Pristina was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Nedzbedin (32) and Sakip (26) Jasari, who are brothers, together with Ridvanj Jasari (24), and Dzevad Jasari (29), all from Kumanovo, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging between 6 and 8 years.

The verdict states that during 1980 and right up until September of last year, Liman Jasari, by conducting hostile propoganda, provoked intolerance between the Macedonian nation and the Albanian nationality living in Macedonia, in Kumanovo, and the village of Stajkovci. On several occasions he spoke to the other members of this group—who have been sentenced—and to other persons and extolled the Socialist Republic of Albania, justifying the events in the the SAP of Kosovo of 1981. The verdict also explains that Liman Jasari on several occasions called for Kosovo to become a republic and persuaded the others sentenced that the position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, in particular in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, was very difficult. He had said that the Albanians in the Kumanovo region were having their walls illegally destroyed and a "ban" on the learning of the Albanian language was being introduced.

The others who were sentenced—Ridvan, Nedzbedin, Sakip, and Dzevad Jasari—it was established during the trial, approved of Liman Jasari's views. They agreed to organize themselves and prevent the destruction of enclosing walls [around private houses] and they acted to prevent the introduction of mixed classes in secondary schools in Kumanovo.

During last year's hostile demonstrations in Kumanovov all those sentenced led the demonstrators and opposed the organs of public order and peace.

Because of the length of the sentences pronounced those sentenced will be detained until the sentence comes into full effect.

Suvar, Mikulic Send Greetings to Castro

AU1001211089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 89 p 6

[Text] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, sent greetings to the first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, Fidel Castro. Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, also sent a telegram to Fidel Castro.